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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1916–1917

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Committee of Publication

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON
ALBERT MATTHEWS
HENRY HERBERT EDES
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH

Editor of Publications

ALBERT MATTHEWS

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Frederick Lewis Gay

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XIX

TRANSACTIONS

1916–1917

Printed at the Charge of the Robert Noxon Toppan Fund

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1918

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The University Press:
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

MAR 21 1928

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PREFACE

VOLUME XIX, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at seven meetings, from November, 1916, to November, 1917, both included, in continuation of Volume XVIII; and also the exercises at the dedication of the Thomas Hutchinson Memorial Doorway.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Miss Sophia F. Brown, the American Antiquarian Society, the Harvard College Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Peabody Museum (Harvard University), and the Yale University Library.

For the Committee of Publication,

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 May, 1918

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COUNCIL

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

1 MAY, 1918

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JOHN WOODBURY, A.B. . . . . CANTON
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Editor of Publications

ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B. . . . . BOSTON

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RESIDENT MEMBERS

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ENROLMENT

1892

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Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B.
Henry Ernest Woods, A.M.
Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, A.M.

1893

George Wigglesworth, A.M.
Waldo Lincoln, A.B.
Moses Williams, A.B.
Charles Montraville Green, M.D.
George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.
Charles Warren Clifford, A.M.
Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.
Walter Cabot Baylies, A.B.
Frank Brewster, A.M.
Samuel Swett Green, A.M.
George Lincoln Goodale, M.D., LL.D.

1894

George Nixon Black, Esq.
Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M.

1895

Lindsay Swift, A.B.

1896

Charles Frank Mason, A.B.
Richard Middlecott Saltonstall, A.B.
Albert Matthews, A.B.
Charles Armstrong Snow, A.B.

1897

William Coolidge Lane, A.B.
Hon. William Cushing Wait, A.M.

1898

John Eliot Thayer, A.M.

1899

Frederic Haines Curtiss, Esq.

1900

Henry Lee Higginson, LL.D.

1901

Hon. James Madison Morton, LL.D.
James Atkins Noyes, A.B.

1902

Hon. Marcus Perrin Knowlton, LL.D.
Rev. James Hardy Ropes, D.D.
Francis Apthorp Foster, Esq.

1903

John Noble, LL.B.
Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane, LL.D.
Winthrop Howland Wade, A.M.
Augustus Peabody Loring, LL.B.

1905

Horace Everett Ware, A.B.

1906

William Vail Kellen, LL.D.
Robert Dickson Weston, A.B.
Henry Lefavour, LL.D.
Francis Randall Appleton, LL.B.
Arthur Lord, A.B.

1907

Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, A.M.

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1908

Rev. William Wallace Fenn, D.D.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, Esq.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D.
Ogden Codman, Esq.

1909

Worthington Chauncey Ford, A.M.
William Lowell Putnam, LL.B.
Harold Murdock, A.M.
Rev. Edward Caldwell Moore, D.D.

1910

Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.
Ezra Henry Baker, A.B.
John Whittemore Farwell, Litt.B.
Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D.
John Woodbury, A.B.
Hon. John Adams Aiken, LL.D.
Rev. George Foot Moore, LL.D.
Edward Percival Merritt, A.B.
Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.

1911

Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Litt.D.
Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.

1912

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.
Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.
Chester Noyes Greenough, Ph.D.
Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Esq.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.
Hon. Robert Grant, Ph.D.
Barrett Wendell, Litt.D.

1913

Allan Forbes, A.B.
Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D.
Samuel Chester Clough, Esq.
Hon. Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, A.B.
Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M.
William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D.
Edward Kennard Rand, Ph.D.

1914

Charles Hall Grandgent, L.H.D.
Franklin Pierce Rice, Esq.
Hon. Charles John McIntire

1915

Francis Russell Hart, Esq.
Samuel Henshaw, A.M.
Augustus George Bullock, A.B.
Hon. Winslow Warren, LL.B.
Edward Channing, Ph.D.
Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, A.M.
Stephen Willard Phillips, LL.B.
Alfred Johnson, Litt.D.

1916

George Parker Winship, Litt.D.
Lawrence Shaw Mayo, A.M.
Richard Clipston Sturgis, A.B.
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, B.A.S.

1918

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.
William Crowninshield Endicott, A.B.
George Russell Agassiz, A.B.
Frederick Cheever Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.

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HONORARY MEMBERS

1907

Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.

1910

Hon. Elihu Root, LL.D.

1913

Hon. William Howard Taft, L.L.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

1898

John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.
Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.
Wilberforce Eames, A.M.
Rev. William Jewett Tucker, LL.D.
Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D.

1899

Edward Field, A.B.
Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D.
Arthur Twining Hadley, LL.D.

1903

Rev. Williston Walker, D.D.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.

1904

Herbert Putnam, LL.D.

1905

Rev. John Carroll Perkins, D.D.
Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D.
Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.

1906

William Logan Rodman Gifford, A.B.
Robert Hallowell Gardiner, A.B.
Franklin Carter, LL.D.

1907

Thomas Willing Balch, LL.B., L.H.D.

1908

James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.
Frank Warren Hackett, A.M.

1910

Edward Robinson, LL.D.

1912

Edward Vanderhoof Bird, Esq.

1913

Edgar Huidekoper Wells, A.B.

1915

Charles McLean Andrews, L.H.D.
Evarts Boutell Greene, Ph.D.

1917

Edmund Burke Delabarre, Ph.D.
William MacDonald, LL.D.
George Burton Adams, Litt.D.

1918

Frederic Adrian Delano, A.B.
Otis Grant Hammond, A.M.

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MEMBERS DECEASED

Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death

Resident

Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.	8 April, 1917
George Vasmer Leverett, A.M.	18 October, 1917
Rev. Edward Hale, A.B.	27 March, 1918

Honorary

Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, D.C.L.	14 May, 1917

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TRANSACTIONS

1916–1917

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1916

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the University Club, No. 270 Beacon Street, Boston, on Tuesday, 21 November, 1916, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, Vice-President ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved without being read.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER of Milton was elected a Resident Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Four of our stated meetings have been held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which with unwearied hospitality continues to play the part of kindly host, and to which we

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continue to tender our unwearied gratitude. In April our members enjoyed the privilege of meeting with our associate Professor Edward Channing, at his house in Cambridge, and spent a delightful evening under his roof.

Our finances show, on the whole, a small but encouraging improvement. Almost $1000 has been contributed by a few generous members for current expenses. Three more members have commuted their annual dues, by the payment of $100 into the treasury, thus relieving themselves of further payments, and increasing this portion of the endowment of the Society to $6100. Our endowment, while it is far short of what we might wish it to be, is still sufficient to warrant our publishing from time to time collections of original manuscripts which may be given or loaned to us. This being one of the principal opportunities of such a society as ours, it is gratifying to feel that on occasion we are able to improve it worthily. The bequest of $1000 by Dr. Watson, which was noted in last year's report, has been received and added to the endowment. In considering the year's finances we are made immediately sensible of the loss we have suffered in the death of our associate Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, the most generous of supporters, the most faithful of attendants. Mr. Gay's generosity extended far beyond mere money gifts, but it is in the year's financial review that the generosity is first missed. During the year a gift of $500 has been received from our associate Mr. Horace E. Ware, accompanied by a suggestion so unusual as to deserve notice in this report. While the gift is entirely free, Mr. Ware suggests that this sum of $500 "together with any interest thereon and additions, if any, from other sources, be applied at some future time, perhaps in the year 1930, to or towards constructing and placing a memorial to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England or to such of its officers and freemen as took part in the transfer of its charter government to its territory here in New England." Your Council is confident that Mr. Ware's suggestion will prove of great interest to the Society, and ventures to lay the whole matter before you, trusting that if you are sufficiently in accord with him you will meet his initial generosity with your own, and so, in the course of years, bring this nucleus up to the amount necessary for the fulfilment of this project.

Our Editor makes the following statement relative to the Society's

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publications: Volumes XV and XVI, which will contain the Corporation Records of Harvard College down to 1750, are well advanced, but it is impossible to say when they will be ready for publication. Volume XVII, which contains the Transactions from March, 1913, to December, 1914, both included, has been distributed since the last annual meeting. Volume XVIII, which contains the Transactions from January, 1915, to April, 1916, both included, is completed so far as the text is concerned and no doubt will be ready for publication early in 1917. The material for the Royal Instructions is now wholly in hand, and is in course of preparation for the printers. It is gratifying to note in this connection that the market for our publications is steadily increasing. The new subscribers are principally large libraries scattered all over the country.

Remembering that opportunity cometh, and sometimes goeth, like a thief in the night, your Council is prompted to remind you that the year 1917 will mark not only the 400th anniversary of Luther's Ninety-five Theses, but also the 25th anniversary of the founding of this Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and to suggest that if it seems fitting to make some observance of either or both of these anniversaries, it were well to consider the matter betimes. Whether you will choose a special committee to arrange such an observance, or will refer the matter back to the Council with power, is for you to say.

The following gentlemen have been elected to Resident Membership in the Society:

Alfred Johnson,
Lawrence Shaw Mayo,
Richard Clipston Sturgis,
George Parker Winship.

Death has stricken from our rolls three honored names:

Frederick Lewis Gay, an early Resident Member and invaluable friend of this Society; a large-spirited lover of human nature, essentially sympathetic to every human interest. Himself a collector and student of unusual discrimination, it was his passion to be of service to all sincere students, and his many acts of generosity were invariably but the outward expression of a truer inward generosity of solicitude and coöperation.

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JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, an Honorary Member, educator and diplomat, veteran among college presidents, who in early manhood set before himself the holy aim of opening unto the consciousness of young men and women a vision of their own higher possibilities, and with reverent fidelity pursued this aim to the end of a long and profitable life.

HORACE DAVIS, a Corresponding Member. The son of a governor of this Commonwealth, he carried to his Western home lofty ideals of service to humankind, coupled with unusual abilities of mind and character, which speedily placed him among the leaders of his great State; her representative in Congress, the president of her university, the foremost upholder of her institutions of learning and culture.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD offered the following votes, which were unanimously adopted:

That the report of the Council be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

That the gratitude of the Society be expressed to Horace Everett Ware for his unfailing interest in its work, for his substantial help on many occasions, for his learned and valuable papers communicated from time to time, and for his generous gift of five hundred dollars, free from all restrictions, which has just been announced by the Council.

That the suggestion of Mr. Ware with regard to a memorial "to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, or to such of its officers and freemen as took part in the transfer of its charter government to its territory here," — a suggestion which the Society has heard with deep interest, — be referred to the Council for consideration and for report at a future meeting.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 16 November, 1916.

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CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 19 November, 1915		$27.27
Admission Fees	$40.00	
Annual Assessments	620.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues	300.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	139.14	
Sales of the Society's Paper	18.87	
Contributions from two members for immediate use	91.28	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	900.00	
Interest	3,631.09	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	1,175.00	
Publication Fund, contributions	55.00	
William Watson Fund, bequest of Dr. Watson	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, gift of Mr. Ware	500.00	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	5,450.00	13,920.38
		$13,947.65

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$1,436.82	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates	247.38	
Folsom Engraving Co.	140.00	
Bigelow, Kennard & Co., Incorporated, plate printing	11.75	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
Andrew Stewart, auditing	10.00	
Clerk hire	83.60	
Jenness & Co., delivering Volume 17	50.59	
Ewing W. Hamlin, stenography	10.50	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light and service	15.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	24.00	
Postage, stationery, and supplies	57.95	
Lucy Drucker, services in London at the Public Record Office	66.78	
Annual Subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	515.40	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	1,175.00	
Deposited in Provident Institution for Savings	150.00	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	8,700.00	
Interest in adjustment	83.11	$13,827.88
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 16 November, 1916		119.77
		$13,947.65

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The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$73,250.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston
250.00 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$73,500.00

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash		$119.77
Mortgages	$73,250.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	250.00	73,500.00
		$73,619.77

CREDITS

Income		$119.77
Editor's Salary Fund	$300.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
General Fund	11,700.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	500.00	73,500.00
		$73,619.77

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 17 November, 1916

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1916, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them. This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, Certified Public Accountant.

WINSLOW WARREN
WORTHINGTON C. FORD
Committee

BOSTON, 17 November, 1916

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The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
JOHN WOODBURY

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

That we, the members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, assembled at our Annual Meeting, learn with regret that FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, our President for the past two years, has decided to decline reëlection at this time.

In acquiescing, though reluctantly, in this decision, we are impelled to record our sense of the substantial benefit which President Turner has conferred upon us. It has been much for a society like ours to have a leader who is universally recognized as an historical scholar of the highest distinction. The influence of his learning, of his refined scholarship, of his good taste and right feeling, and of his earnest and kindly nature, has made itself felt in every department of our associated activities.

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He has served us at much sacrifice of time and strength, and we desire to assure him of our grateful appreciation.

Mr. ALFRED C. POTTER exhibited a silver teapot made by Minot and presented to Tutor William Kneeland in 1763 by his pupils at the time of his marriage and retirement from office. It is now owned by Harvard College.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Rear-Admiral Francis Tiffany Bowles, and Messrs. Brooks Adams, George Russell Agassiz, William Richards Castle, Jr., Howard Millar Chapin, Edmund Burke Delabarre, Charles Eliot Goodspeed, William Prescott Greenlaw, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, William MacDonald, John Phillips Marquand, James Parker Parmenter, Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., Harry Walter Tyler, and Arthur Gordon Webster. Mr. George Lyman Kittredge presided.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1916

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, on Thursday, 28 December, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. WILLIAM MACDONALD and Mr. EDMUND BURKE DELABARRE, both of Providence, Rhode Island, were elected Corresponding Members.

The announcement was made of the appointment of Messrs. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, and ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE as delegates from this Society to the Thirteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies in Cincinnati on 28 December in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a paper on the Religious History of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, 1692–1750.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

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NOTE ON THE 1672 EDITION AND THE 1675 VOLUME OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL LAWS[1]

The General Laws of Massachusetts were first published in 1648, and they were again published in 1660, no Laws having been printed between those years. Sessional Laws were printed in 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1668, and 1669; but none in 1670 or 1671. The legislation that led to the next publication of the General Laws, in 1672, extended over two years. At a Court held on May 31, 1670, we read:

[1] The terms "1672 edition" and "1675 volume" are used advisedly, and require a word of explanation. The word "edition" is thus defined in the Oxford Dictionary:

3.a. One of the differing forms in which a literary work (or a collection of works) is published, either by the author himself, or by subsequent editors. b. An impression, or issue in print, of a book, pamphlet, etc.; the whole number of copies printed from the same set of types and issued at the same time.

As used by me the word "edition" in "1672 edition" has the meaning given it under b in the above definition.

The word "impression" is thus defined in the same dictionary:

3.c. The printing of that number of copies (of a book, etc.) which forms one issue of it; 'one course of printing' (Johnson); hence, the aggregate of copies thus printed; see EDITION 3b.

Sometimes distinguished from 'edition,' as an unaltered reprint from standing type or plates; but often used as a more general term including both 'edition' and 'reprint:" cf. quot. 1891.

The quotation referred to is from the Preface (p. 5) to the Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan's Publications, and reads as follows:

After careful consideration the Publishers decided to describe as an Edition an impression from type set up afresh either with or without alteration and read for press by a proof-reader. An impression from standing type or from Stereotype or Electrotype plates is described as a Reprint.

The word "reprint" is thus defined in the Oxford Dictionary:

1. A reproduction in print of any matter already printed; a new impression of a work previously printed, without alteration of the matter.

The word "reissue" is thus defined in the Oxford Dictionary:

A second or renewed issue; *spec.* in the book-trade, a republication at a different price or in a different form of part of an impression already placed on the market.

If my conclusions in regard to the 1675 volume of Massachusetts Laws are correct, that volume cannot properly be described either as an "edition" or as an "impression" or as a "reprint" or as a "reissue," or apparently by any other bibliographical term; and hence I have taken refuge in the word "volume."

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Whereas there is a great want of law bookes for the vse of seuerall Courts and inhabitants in this jurisdiction at present, & very few of them that are extant or compleat, conteyning all lawes now in force amongst vs, it is therefore ordered by this Court, that . . . shall & hereby are appointed to be a comittee to pervse all our lawes now in force, to collect & drawe vp any literall erro^rs, or misplacing of words or sentences therein, or any libertjes infringed, and to make a convenient table for the ready finding of all things therein, that so they may be fitted ffor the presse, & the same to present to the next session of this Court, to be further considered off & approoved by the Court.[1]

Accordingly, at the next session of the Court on October 12, 1670, the return of the committee was considered and certain changes authorized;[2] and on May 31, 1671, —

Mr Richard Russell, Mr Thomas Danforth, & Mr Wm Staughton, or any two of them, are appointed, wth Capt Thomas Clarke and Capt Dauis, to be a comittee, & are impoured to cause the booke of lawes to be printed, & an exact table made thereto, wth a marginal noate of the word 'Repealed' vnto all lawes that stand repealed; and the Tresurer is required to pay for the impression, & dispose of the books as to him shall seeme expedient for the publick good & advantage.[3]

On May 15, 1672, —

It is ordered, that the former comittee (wth the secretary) formerly appointed to send out the lawes to the presse be heereby ordered to pervse the lawes now this Court made, and to make a præface & table, & what els is requisite, and send all out to be printed presently.[4]

The 1672 edition thus authorized duly appeared, and thereafter, though the Sessional Laws were printed yearly from 1672 to 1686 (both years included), no edition of the General Laws was authorized by the General Court; and the last Sessional Law printed by the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay was one passed at a Court held February 16, 1685–6.[5] Under Dudley there was, so far as is known,

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 453.

[2] Vol. iv. pt. ii. pp. 467–469.

[3] Vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 488.

[4] Vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 514.

[5] Two other extracts from the Massachusetts Colony Records may be given, the first under date of May 15, 1672; the second under date of May 7, 1673:

In ans^r to the petition of John Vsher, the Court judgeth it meete to order, & be it by this Court ordered & enacted, that no printer shall print any more coppies

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a single issue only;[1] under Andros no Laws were printed; and in 1692 the Colony was succeeded by the Province.

It thus appears that during the existence of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, only three editions of the General Laws were authorized — namely, those published in 1648, 1660, and 1672, all of which were printed at Cambridge. Nevertheless there is a volume of the General Laws which bears on its title-page the date 1675 and London as well as Cambridge. As this volume is not alluded to in the Massachusetts Colony Records, as it is not mentioned by Whitmore,[2] as

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then are agreed & pajd for by the ouner of the sajd coppie or coppiès, nor shall he nor any other reprint or make sale of any of the same, wthout the sajd owners consent, vpon the forfeiture and pœnalty of treble the whole charges of printing, & paper, &c, of the whole quantity payd for by the ouner of the coppie, to the sajd ouner or his assignes (vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 527).

Mr John Vsher hauing binn at the sole chardge of the impression of the booke of lawes, & presented the Goūno^{r}, magistrate, secretary, as also euery deputy, the clark of ye deputjes on, & Capt̄ Dauis one, the Court judgeth it meete to order, that for at least this seven yeares, vnlesse he shall haue sold them all before that tyme, there shallbe no other or further impression made by any person thereof in this jurisdiction, vnder the pœnalty this Court shall see cause to lay on any that shall adventure in that kind, besides making ffull sattisfaction to the sajd Mr Jno Vsher or his assignes for his charge & damage therein. Voated by ye whole Court met together (vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 559).

[1] Of this issue, a single copy has been preserved in the New Hampshire Archives, which was printed in facsimile by Albert S. Batchellor in Laws of New Hampshire, 1904, i. 811–825. It consists of four leaves, the pages being numbered 3–10, but lacks the title and has no colophon. The heading on p. 3 reads as follows:

An Order for the Holding of Courts &c. / [Seal] / By the / President and Council of His Majesties / Territory And Dominion of New-England / in America./ An Order for the Holding of Courts And Execution of Justice. / Published the 10th of June 1686.

Collation: No Title; An Order for the Holding of Courts, pp. 3–9; An Order for the Encouragement of Surveyers of Ships and Vessels, p. 9; Bounds and Power of Towns, p. 10.

On August 25, 1686, it was "Ordered That the Military Lawes be printed, also the Order for the strict Observation of the Lords-day" (i. 135). If these laws were actually printed, they may have formed part of the above issue, but no copy is known to be in existence.

The above item has been described in detail because it escaped Mr. Ford and myself when we were compiling our Bibliography of the Massachusetts Laws. The same fate befell the Explanatory Charter of Massachusetts, printed at Boston in 1726: see Publications of this Society, xiv. 399–400 and notes.

[2] "The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the Edition of 1672, with the Supplements through 1686" (1887); "The Colonial Laws of Mas-

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its very existence has been questioned, as erroneous impressions about it are current, as it presents several bibliographical curiosities, and as the exact relations between it and the 1672 edition have never been settled, it is believed that a full discussion of the subject will not prove superfluous.

It should first be pointed out that the 1672 edition is very far from being the "extremely rare" volume that Trumbull stated it to be.[1] When our associate Mr. Worthington C. Ford and the present writer were compiling our Bibliography of the Laws of the Massachusetts Bay, 1641–1776, we found that of the twelve libraries whose collections were listed all but one had at least one copy of that edition, one library having two and another three copies.[2] Indeed, no fewer than sixteen copies have been located; and there are more known copies of the 1672 edition than of any other edition of the Massachusetts Laws published down to that of 1726. On the other hand, we were able to list only three copies of the 1675 volume — those owned by the American Antiquarian Society, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There is a fourth copy in the British Museum;[3] a fifth copy was recently acquired by an American collector; and a copy was described in Hazlitt in 1887.[4] In 1810 Isaiah Thomas[5] described the 1672 edition, but said nothing about the 1675 volume. By 1836, however, a copy of the 1675 volume had found its way into the American Antiquarian Society, and a year later was thus described:

> Massachusetts. The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England, Revised and Reprinted by order of the General Court holden at Boston, May 15, 1672. fol. Cambridge. 1675.[6]

sachusetts. Reprinted from the Edition of 1660, with the Supplements to 1672" (1889); "A Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony from 1630 to 1686" (1890).

[1] Brinley Catalogue (1877), i. 109.

[2] Publications of this Society, iv. 302. The British Museum and the Yale University Library also own copies.

[3] The British Museum Catalogue calls this "Another edition" of the 1672 edition, and gives its place of publication as "Cambridge, New England, 1675."

[4] Cf. p. 14 note 4, below. What became of this copy I do not know.

[5] History of Printing in America (1810), i. 259–260.

[6] Catalogue of Books in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society (1837), M, p. 13. For the exact title of the American Antiquarian Society copy, incorrectly given in this catalogue and by Haven, see p. 17, below.

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It will be observed that nothing is said about London, nor is there in Dr. Samuel F. Haven's description of the same volume in 1874:

1675.

General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England, Revised and Reprinted, by order of the General Court, holden at Boston, May 15th, 1672. Fol. Cambridge. Printed by S. Green.[1]

Sabin, writing in 1879, said: "The catalogue of the Worcester Antiquarian Society describes an edition dated 1675, which is probably an error as to date."[2] In 1899 Richard R. Bowker gave this inadequate description:

General laws and liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England; rev. and reprinted 1672. E: Rawson, secr. Cambridge, London, 1675.[3]

The volume was also described by Hazlitt in 1887,[4] by Hildeburn in 1890,[5] by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse in 1906,[6] and by Mr. Ford and the present writer in 1907;[7] but in neither case was anything more than a brief description attempted. In 1903, however, Mr. Charles Evans gave a somewhat long description, of which it is necessary to quote only the imprint and his remarks:

Cambridge in New-England, Printed by Samuel Greene, [sic.] *for John Usher of Boston, and to be sold by Richard Chiswel, . . . London.* 1675. pp. (2), 170, (27), (2). fol.

This edition was probably reprinted in London from the Cambridge edition of 1672. The spelling of the printer's name incorrectly would seem to support this view of its origin.[8]

Before proceeding with our discussion, three remarks are pertinent. First, the only separate edition[9] of the Massachusetts Laws down to

[1] In Thomas's History of Printing in America (1874), ii. 320.

[2] Dictionary of Books relating to America, xi. 334.

[3] State Publications (1908), p. 58.

[4] Bibliographical Collections and Notes, Third Series, p. 157.

[5] Charlemagne Tower Collection of American Colonial Laws, p. 63.

[6] Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906 (1908), ii. 297.

[7] Publications of this Society (1908), iv. 304.

[8] American Bibliography, i. 38.

[9] "An Abridgement of the Laws In Force and Use in Her Majesty's Planta-

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1776 which is known with certainty to have been printed in London is that of 1724, containing the Province Laws from 1692 to 1719.[1] Hence conclusive evidence must be adduced to convince us that an edition of the Laws was printed in London in 1675. Second, the name "Green" is correctly printed in the title-pages of the three copies of the 1675 volume that I have had an opportunity of examining, in the copy described by Hazlitt, and in the copy lately acquired by an American collector. Hence, even if a mistake has not been made by Mr. Evans in stating that the name of the printer is misspelled on the title-page of the copy examined by him, that fact has not the importance that Mr. Evans attaches to it.[2] Third, the words "Cambridge in New-England, Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston" in the imprint of the 1675 volume, though perhaps not proof positive, cannot be brushed lightly aside. It is difficult to believe that Chiswell would have had the volume reprinted for him in London and then have stated on the title-page that it was printed in Cambridge, New England.

There are certain differences, and still more striking resemblances, between the 1672 edition and the 1675 volume, and these can best be brought out by giving the title and collation of each. In both cases I have used the copies in the John Carter Brown Library.

1672

The General / Laws / and / Liberties / of the / Massachusets Colony: / Revised & Re-printed. / By Order of the General

tions; (Viz.) Of Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Maryland, New-England, New-York, Carolina, &c.," was published in London in 1704. It is difficult to describe this curious volume, since it has at least three sets of pagination and two sets of signatures. Near the end of the volume is "An Abridgement of the Laws and Ordinances of New-England," filling pp. 1–104, but pp. 86, 87, 92, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, are misnumbered 87, 88, 96, 92, 10, 104, 97, 103, 102, 100. This is apparently an abridgment of the edition of the General Laws of Massachusetts published in 1672. It will be observed that by "New-England" is meant Massachusetts only: cf. Publications of this Society, xiv. 360 note 1, xvii. 70 note, 72 note 2, 92 note 7, 116, 117.

[1] Publications of this Society, iv. 355–356.

[2] Mr. Evans kindly informs me that his title was copied from an auction sale catalogue, though he cannot recall what catalogue. No copy is listed in Livingston's Auction Prices of Books (1905), nor in Jaggard's Index to Book-Prices Current (1901, 1909).

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Court holden at Boston./May 15th. 1672./Edward Rawson Secr./[Rule]/Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God and/they that resist receive to themselves Damnation. Rom. 13. 8.[1]/[Rule]

Cambridge / Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston. / 1672.

Collation: Colony Seal, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Laws, pp. 1–161[1]; "Presidents & Formes of things frequently Used," pp. 162–170[1]; Errata, nine lines on p. 170; "Summary" pp. (27).

Pp. 16, 163–171, are misnumbered 14, 162–170.[2]

Pagination and Signatures:

1 B	49 K	91 U2	133 Hh	
3 B2	51 K2	93 X	135 Hh2	Summary[3].
5 C	53 L	95 X2	137 Ii	(1) A
7 C2	55 L2	97 Y	139 Ii2	(3) A2
9 D	57 M	99 Y2	141 Kk	(5) B
11 D2	59 M2	101 Z	143 Kk2	(7) B2
13 D3	61 N	103 Z2	145 Ll	(9) C
15 D3	63 N2	105 Aa	147 Ll2	(11) C2
17 E	65 O	107 Aa2	149 Mm	(13) D
19 E2	67 O2	109 Bb	151 Mm2	(15) D2
21 E3	69 P	111 Bb2	153 Nn	(17) E
25 F	71 P2	113 Cc	155 Nn2	(19) E2
27 F2	73 Q	115 Cc2	157 Oo	(21) F
29 F3	75 Q2	117 Dd	159 Oo2	(23) F2
33 G	77 R	119 Dd2	161 Pp	(25)
35 G2	79 R2	121 Ee	162 Pp2	(27)
37 G3	81 S	123 Ee2	164 Qq	
41 H	83 S2	125 Ff	166 Qq2	
43 H2	85 T	127 Ff2	168 Rr	
45 I	87 T3	129 Gg	170 Rr2	
47 I2	89 U	131 Gg2		

[1] The verse number ought to be "2," and is "2" in most of the copies I have seen; but in the copy described in the text it is plainly "8." In some copies the figure is so blurred that it cannot be made out with certainty.

[2] In his description of the Church copy of the 1672 edition, Mr. G. W. Cole says: "The verso of p. 161 is blank, and is omitted in the pagination, bringing the even pages on the recto from this point to p. 170, when, by omitting to number the blank page following, the normal paging is resumed" (Church Catalogue, iii. 1400). But p. 170 is the last numbered page, hence the "normal paging" is not resumed, as the Summary is not paged.

[3] The Summary, as is clear from the collation, is not paged; but for the sake of convenience I have placed within parentheses the numbers that the pages would have if they were numbered. It will be observed that pp. (25) and (27) have no signatures: but see p. 20 note 1, below.

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1675

The General / Laws / and / Liberties / of the / Massachusets Colony / in / New-England, / Revised and Reprinted, / By order of the General Court holden at Boston, / May 15th, 1672. / Edward Rawson, Secr. / [Rule] / Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and / they that resist, receive to themselves Damnation. Rom. 13. 2. / [Rule]

Cambridge in New-England, / Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston, and to be sold by / Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, / London, 1675.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; Laws, pp. 1–161[1]; "Presidents & Formes of things frequently Used," pp. 162–170[1]; Errata, ten lines on p. 170; "Summary," pp. (27); List of Books, 1 leaf.

Pp. 16, 163–171, are misnumbered 14, 162–170.

Pagination and Signatures:

1 B	49 K	91 U2	133 Hh	
3 B2	51 K2	93 X	135 Hh2	
5 C	53 L	95 X2	137 Ii	Summary
7 C2	55 L2	97 Y	139 Ii2	(1) A
9 D	57 M	99 Y2	141 Kk	(3) A2
11 D2	59 M2	101 Z	143 Kk2	(5) B
13 D3	61 N	103 Z2	145 Ll	(7) B2
15 D3	63 N2	105 Aa	147 Ll2	(9) C
17 E	65 O	107 Aa2	149 Mm	(11) C2
19 E2	67 O2	109 Bb	151 Mm2	(13) D
21 E3	69 P	111 Bb2	153 Nn	(15) D2
25 F	71 P2	113 Cc	155 Nn2	(17) E
27 F2	73 Q	115 Cc2	157 Oo	(19) E2
29 F3	75 Q2	117 Dd	159 Oo2	(21) F
33 G	77 R	119 Dd2	161 Pp	(23) F2
35 G2	79 R2	121 Ee	162 Pp2	(25)
37 G3	81 S	123 Ee2	164 Qq	(27)
41 H	83 S2	125 Ff	166 Qq2	
43 H2	85 T	127 Ff2	168 Rr	
45 I	87 T3	129 Gg	170 Rr2	
47 I2	89 U	131 Gg2		

A mere glance at the above collation shows the following differences between the 1672 edition and the 1675 volume: (1) The leaf containing the Colony Seal, found in the 1672 edition, is lacking in the 1675 volume. (2) The title-page of the 1672 edition differs from

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the title-page of the 1675 volume. (3) The list of Errata on p. 170 is in nine lines[1] in the 1672 edition, but in ten lines[2] in the 1675 volume. (4) The leaf containing the List of Books, found in the 1675 volume, is lacking in the 1672 edition. Besides these differences, obvious from a mere glance at the collation, there are others which only an examination of the books themselves discloses. They are: (5) The type used in the title-page of the 1672 edition is different from the type used in the title-page of the 1675 volume. (6) The type used in pp. 168–170 of the 1672 edition differs from the type used in pp. 168–170 of the 1675 volume. (7) Pages 168–170 of the 1672 edition and pp. 168–170 of the 1675 volume do not correspond line for line. (8) The paper on which the title-page of the 1672 edition is printed differs from the paper on which the title-page of the 1675 volume is printed. (9) The paper on which pp. 168–170 of the 1672 edition are printed differs from the paper on which pp. 168–170 of the 1675 volume are printed.[3]

So much for the differences, which are really trifling and concern only five leaves: the leaf containing the Colony Seal, the leaf containing the Title, the two leaves containing pp. 168–170, and the leaf containing the List of Books.

Let us now consider the resemblances, which are, so far as a mere glance at the collation shows, as follows: (1) The number of every numbered page of the 1672 edition is identical with that of every corresponding page of the 1675 volume, even to the misprints of 14 for 16 and 162–170 for 163–171. (2) Each signature of the 1672 edition is identical with the corresponding signature of the 1675 volume, even to the misprints of D3 for D4 (p. 15) and T3 for T2 (p. 87). Other resemblances, not disclosed by the collation, are the following: (3) Every catchword at the bottom of the pages of the 1672 edition is identical with the catchword at the bottom of the corresponding pages of the 1675 volume. (4) The text of pp. 1–170 of the 1672 edition is line for line the same as the text of pp. 1–170 of the 1675 volume, with the exception of the three pages numbered 168–170. (5) The text of the Summary of the 1672 edition is line for line the

[1] That is, there are nine lines not counting the word "Errata" itself as a line.

[2] That is, there are ten lines not counting the word "Errata" itself as a line.

[3] This fact is noted, but not much reliance is to be placed upon it since the paper used in the 1672 edition was of various kinds, there being two or three different water-marks.

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same as the text of the Summary of the 1675 volume. (6) The type used in pp. 1–170 of the 1672 edition is the same as the type used in pp. 1–170 of the 1675 volume, with the exception of the three pages numbered 168–170. (7) The type used in the Summary of the 1672 edition is the same as the type used in the Summary of the 1675 volume. (8) The paper on which the Summary and pp. 1–170 of the 1672 edition are printed is apparently the same as the paper on which the Summary and pp. 1–170 of the 1675 volume are printed, with the exception of the three pages numbered 168–170. (9) The ornaments on pages 1, 14, 93, 162, of the text, and on pages (1), (27), of the Summary in the 1672 edition are the same as those on the corresponding pages of the 1675 volume.

The text and the Summary make 200 pages, of which three pages — the verso of p. 161, the verso of p. 170, and the last page of the Summary — are blank. The 197 printed pages of the 1675 volume have been shown to be identical in every respect, even to the paper, with the 197 printed pages of the 1672 edition, with the exception of the three pages numbered 168–170. That a volume of 197 printed pages, set up in London in 1675, should follow an edition printed at Cambridge in 1672 page for page, line for line, signature for signature, catchword for catchword, misprint for misprint, ornament for ornament, and in addition should be printed on the same paper — always with the exception of the three pages — is surely beyond belief.

So much for the copies of the 1672 edition and the 1675 volume owned by the John Carter Brown Library. But more remains to be said. The copy of the 1675 volume owned by the American Antiquarian Society appears to have the same peculiarities that the copy owned by the John Carter Brown Library has, except that the former is imperfect, lacking pp. 83, 84, 168, 169, and having pages 1, 2, torn. On the other hand, the copy of the 1675 volume owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania differs in some respects from those owned by the John Carter Brown Library and the American Antiquarian Society. In this copy, the leaf containing the List of Books is not at the end but at the beginning, immediately following the leaf containing the title, and the List of Books is printed on the verso of the leaf;[1] pages 168–170 are identical with the corresponding pages

[1] Dr. John W. Jordan writes me: "In our copy the book list follows the title page, but this is evidently an error on the part of the binder. Our copy is not rebound."

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of the 1672 edition; the list of Errata on page 170 is in nine lines; and page (25) of the Summary has signature G.[1] The copy of the 1675 volume owned by an American collector appears to be, as he kindly informs me, identical with the copy owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, except that the leaf containing the List of Books comes first, followed by the leaf containing the title-page. Thus of four copies now in this country, two are identical in every respect with the 1672 edition except as regards the leaf containing the Colony Seal, the leaf containing the List of Books, and the leaf containing the title-page. Hence the conclusion reached by me is that the text and the Summary of the 1675 volume were printed at Cambridge in 1672; that for some reason which cannot now be determined, it became necessary to reset in some copies the three pages numbered 168–170, and they were reset either in Cambridge or in London;[2] that a new title-page was printed in London; and that the List of Books was printed in London.

But, it will perhaps be asked, how did a volume which was not authorized by the General Court and to which there is no allusion in the Massachusetts Colony Records, come to be issued in London? To this reasonable question, a conclusive answer can, I think, be given. In a previous paper[3] it was shown that Richard Chiswell was issuing in London books written by New Englanders, some of which books were printed at Boston or at Cambridge and some at London, and that he had business relations with John Usher, who, as we have also seen, had "binn at the sole chardge of the impression of the booke of lawes"[4] — that is, our 1672 edition. It may be that some copies were consigned to Chiswell to be sold in London, and that he advertised

[1] The copy of the 1672 edition owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania lacks the Summary. But in some of the copies of the 1672 edition — for instance, in those owned by the Boston Athenæum and the Massachusetts State Library — page (25) of the Summary has the signature G.

[2] Pages 168–170 constitute signature Rr (see p. 17, above). If the sheets were stored by Usher with the Summary on top, then signature Rr would have been the outer sheet, and it is easy to see how that sheet might have got injured. Or perhaps the shipment to Usher was in two packages, one containing the Summary, the other the text. In this case also signature Rr would have been the outer sheet, and in some copies this might have been ruined by water or otherwise injured, necessitating a reprinting of that signature in London.

[3] See A Ghost-Book, Publications of this Society, xiv. 278, 278 note 3, 279, 280.

[4] See p. 11 note 5, above.

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them for sale in London in 1672; but if he did so, his advertisement has not come down to us. More probably, however, Usher waited until 1674 or very early in 1675 before making Chiswell his agent in London for the 1672 edition. However that may have been, what is certain is that in "A Catalogue of Books Continued, Printed and Published at *London* in *Easter* Term, 1675. Licensed May 10. 1675. Roger L'Estrange," the following advertisement was printed:

LAW.

The General Laws and Liberties of the *Massachusets* Colony in *New England*. Revised, and Reprinted, by Order of the General Court holden at *Boston*. In Folio. Price, bound, 6s. Sold by R. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Churchyard.

Perhaps Usher sent over copies in sheets, which would account for a new title-page. Perhaps Chiswell had a good many copies left over from a consignment made in 1672, and wished to stimulate their sale by an attractive advertisement and a new title-page. Certainly a would-be purchaser would not infer from the above advertisement that the volume had been printed three years before and contained no laws later than 1672.

The above analysis remains practically as it was written in April, 1912. The conclusion reached — that "More probably, however, Usher waited until 1674 or very early in 1675 before making Chiswell his agent in London for the 1672 edition" — is placed beyond the possibility of a doubt by the following extract, which Mr. Ford has just placed in my hands, from an unpublished letter written by Usher to Chiswell in October or November, 1674:

by one Mr Waldren I haue sent 190 New Engl: Law bookes, ye which as nouelties with ye may sell, I haue printed an impression, wch hath made me thus to Aduenture.[1]

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD gave some account of a list of books imported into Boston between 1679 and 1685 by

[1] Usher's Letter Book, Massachusetts Historical Society, C. 102. 4. f. 76. Though this letter is not dated, it follows one dated October 2, 1674, and precedes one dated November 19, 1674: hence it was doubtless written between those two dates. Usher means that he sent to Chiswell a remainder of 190 copies of the edition printed in 1672.

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John Usher, in which mention is made of a New England Primer known in London, 1685, or two years earlier than the printing of the copy attributed to Harris. Mr. Ford traced through the Stationers' Registers (III. 199) the record of the entry of a copy in 1683, and gave a brief account of the troubles in England of Benjamin Harris, who printed the New England Primer in Boston between 1687 and 1690.

Mr. FORD also communicated the following documents: (1) A letter from the Rev. Samuel Davies to Mr. McCullock, dated Hanover, Virginia, 11 August, 1758; (2) a list of the captive Indian children who, in 1676, were distributed among Massachusetts households; and (3) an account of expenses of a journey from Boston to New Jersey, undated, but perhaps undertaken about the year 1688.

I

SAMUEL DAVIES[1] TO —— MCCULLOCK

My ever-dear Friend,

As I keep no Copies of my Letters, I cannot exactly recollect when I wrote to you last: but I think it was since I received a Letter from you. However, Friendship tells me, it is Time to write again; tho' my Hurry, as usual, will hardly let me write any thing worth reading.

Your old Friend Mr. Richardson, having officiated as a Candidate, for some time, was ordained, with Mr Patillo,[2] another promising Minister, at our last P'by, about a month ago. And I can afford you the Pleasure of hearing, that his popular Talents vastly surpass my Expectations; & there is Reason already to hope, that his Labours have been of some considerable Service. He itinerates among the vacant Congregations in various Parts of the Country: & we have Work enough for our young Ministers, as Applications are now made to the P'by from many Parts of Virginia, where the very Name of a Presbyterian was wont to excite Disgust & Contempt.

For an Acc^t of the Chirokee-Mission, I must refer you to Mr Gillies; only adding, that yesterday I was shocked wth a flying Rumour, that they

[1] On Samuel Davies, see Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, i. 429 ff; Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, iii. 140–146.

[2] Rev. Henry Patillo (1726–1801): see Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, iii. 196–199.

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had massacred my worthy Friend Mr Martin. I can by no means believe it true: but the least Suspicion of it is very alarming to me.

You will lament with me the Death of the great & good Mr Edwards,[1] a few Days after his Installation as President of the College. It is, I am afraid, a severe Frown upon that Institution: but God has the Residue of the Spirit; & this is our only Hope.

Last Week Mr Wright & I waited upon our new Governor,[2] as a Deputation from the Presbytery of Hanover: & his Honour gave us a very friendly Reception, & promised to protect us in the full Enjoyment of the Immunities of the Act of Toleration. He makes an agreeable Figure in Conversation: but what his Qualifications for Government are, future Time must discover. I rejoice to hear that our former Governour[3] is safe arrived in his native Country once more. May the Evening of his Life be calm & bright!

Last Lord's Day I Dispensed the Sacrament of the Supper in Hanover, assisted by Mr Wright. It was a Season of Dejection & Tears to me, & I was more disposed to weep under the Cross, than speak to recommend it. But how sweet are such Tears! how medicinal the Wounds of a broken Heart! My dear People appeared generally in the same Frame with myself; so that I hope there was "*a great Mourning*" among us.

The Number of Negroe-Communicants is still increasing; & multitudes of the poor Creatures are learning to read with considerable Success. Your intended Present of Spelling-Books will be peculiarly acceptable & useful to them; as it is that sort of Books they now stand most in need of. The Generosity of my British Friends in this Respect, has been utterly astonishing: "it is the Lord's doing, & marvellous in my Eyes:" & by means of it, I really hope, sundry of the most unpolished & wretched Parts of human Nature will be made Partakers of Life & Immortality.

We are in daily Expectation of hearing that Louisburg, the Gibraltar of America, has surrendered;[4] as by the last Accounts, our Forces were landed, & had taken the Light-House Battery. But a Victory half-won, has often been lost by some unexpected Turn of Providence; therefore it becomes us to be diffident, & not presume too much upon the Event.

Virginia has done better this year than usual, having chearfully aug-

[1] Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) had been installed as President of Princeton College, February 16, 1758, in succession to his son-in-law, Aaron Burr.

[2] Francis Fauquier, lieutenant-governor from 1758 to his death in 1768.

[3] Robert Dinwiddie.

[4] Louisburg was taken July 26, 1758.

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mented its Forces to 2000, & given £10 enlisting Money to each Man. These are to join about 3000 Pennsylvania-Forces & some Regulars, under Brigadier General Forbes,[1] in order to make another Attempt upon Fort-du Quesne, the Nest of those Savages that ravage our Frontiers. But their Motions are so slow, (for what Reasons I cannot tell,) & the Summer is now so far advanced, that I begin to fear nothing will be done, or even attempted. We have just heard, that Gen[l] Abercrombie has been worsted at or near Ticonderoga, & obliged to retreat: But the Particulars of that melancholy Action, we have not yet received. It makes me fear, that Crown-Point will prove impregnable to us: for this Summer we have made our utmost Effort ag[t] it. Thus, I expect, it will be, till we learn to fight, & pray too, to better Purpose.

I am sorry to tell you, that my Lord Loudon[2] has left a very bad Character behind him, especially as to his morals, & his imperious Insolence in authority. Alas! how baleful are the Effects of Luxury, Vice & Infidelity upon the British Nation! once a Nation of Heroes, terrible to the World. Faith made Heroes, "subdued Kingdoms, turned to Flight the Armies of the Aliens," &c in ancient Times: & I am persuaded, Faith is the best Source of true Courage still. But where shall Faith be found upon Earth, among our military Men?

Since the Union of the Synods of New-York & Philadelphia, (for the Plan of which I must refer you to our good Friend M[r] Gillies,) our little P'by is increased to 12 Members: but they are scattered through Virginia & Carolina, at the Distance of some Hundreds of Miles, so that we are not likely to have a full Presbytery. How happy a Change in Virginia, which was so long a melancholy & laborious Solitude to me!

The Seceders have got into Pennsylvania, & thrown the Churches there into great Confusion. I hope they are good Men: tho' their Bigotry & contentious Peculiarities render them very troublesome Members of Society. Alas! what unskillful hands have the Management of Religion upon our guilty Earth; Religion, the divinest Thing, excepting its Author, that ever came from Heaven! Were it not that the God of Order presides, it would soon be reduced into a chaos, or buried in the Rubbish of human Passions & Weaknesses.

I still affectionately remember your valuable consort, & lovely son. May the God of Heaven bless them both! My aged Parents, my tenderer & better Part, & my 5 young Immortals, are well; Blessed be God! I am in a Hurry, as you may percieved by my writing; & can only assure

[1] John Forbes (1710–1759).

[2] John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun (1705–1782), whose delay and general ineptitude led to his recall. Amherst was sent in his place.

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you once more, that I am, my ever-dear Friend, yours in the sincerest Love & willing Service

SAM[L] DAVIES.

Hanover, Aug[t] 11, 1758.

P. S. I herewith send you Pr[t] Stith's Sermon,[1] which you may compare with the answer in M[r] Gillies's Hands.

M[r] M[c]Cullock.[2]

II

LIST OF CAPTIVE INDIAN CHILDREN, 1676

August 10 1676. A memorandum of Indian Children put forth into service to the English Beeing of those indians that came in & submitted with John Sachem of Packachooge, with the names of the persons with whome they were placed & the names and age of the children & the names of their relations & the places they Did belong to, By Mr Daniel Gookin Sen[r], Thomas Prentis Capt' & M[r] Edward Oakes, who were a comittee appointed by the Counsel to mannage y[t] affayr. The termes & conditions vpon w[ch] they are to serue is to be ordered by the Gen[ll] Court who are to provide y[t] the children bee religiously educated & taught to read the English tounge

2 Boy A maid	To Samuel Simonds Esq. a boy named John his father named Alwitankus late of quantisit his father & mother p[r]ent both consenting the boys age about 12 years To him a girle named Hester her father & mother dead late of Nashaway her age ten years her onkel named John woosumpigin of Naticke
1 Boy	To Thomas Danforth esq a boy aged about 13 yeares his name John
1 Boy	To Leift Jonathan Danforth of [Billericay?] a boy aged twelve yeares, son to papamech alius David late of Warwick or Cowesit.
2 Boyes	To Mathew Bridge of CamBridge two Boyes the one named Jabez aged about ten yeares the other named Joseph aged six yeares their father named woompthe late of Packachooge ☞ one or both these boyes is away with his father 8 ber 17th 1676

[1] The Nature and Extent of Christ's Redemption, printed at Williamsburg, 1753.

[2] From the Chamberlain Manuscripts (A. 5. 56) in the Boston Public Library.

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To Mr Jerimiah Shepard of Rowley a boy named Absolom his father of the same name late of Manehage aged

3 A boy & two Girls about ten yeares.
To him a girle sister to the Lad named Sarah aged eleven yeares. These [*illegible*] of Naticke.
To him another girle aged about 8 yeares her named Jane her father & mother dead.

1 Mayd To Mrs Mitchell [1] of Cambridg widdow a maid named Margaret aged about twelve yeares, her father named Suhunnick of quantisit her mother dead.

1 Boy To Thomas Jacob of Ipswich a boy aged ten yeares, on wennaputanan his guardian & on upacunt of quantisitt his grand mother was present. The Boy [*illegible*].

1 Boy To on Goodman Read [2] a Tanner of cambridge a Boy named John aged about thirteen yeares his father Dead.

1 Boy To Mr Jacob Green of Charel Towne a boy aged about seauen yeares his parrents Dead Late of quantisit but his mother of Narraganset.

1 Boy To Thomas Woolson of Wattertowne a boy aged about 14 yeares his name John his father dead who was of Cowesit or warwick, his mother p[r]sent.

1 Boy To Ciprian Steuens of Rumny Marsh but late of Lancaster a boy aged about six yeares son to nohanet of Chobnakonkonon. The Boy named Samuel.

1 Mayd To Thomas Eliot of Boston a carpenter a maid aged about ten yeares her name Rebecka.

1 Boy To Jacob Green Junior of Charles towne a Boy named Peter aged nine years his father dead his mother p[r]sent named nannantum of quantisit.

1 Boy To on Goodman Greenland [3] a carpenter of Charles towne on misticke side a boy named Tom aged twelue yeares his father named santeshe of Pakachooge.

1 Girle To Mr Edmund Batter of Salem a maid named Abigal aged sixteen her mother a widow named quanshishe late of Shookannet Beyond mendon.

[1] Probably Margaret Mitchell, the widow successively of the Rev. Thomas Shepard and the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell.

[2] Christopher Read.

[3] John Greenland.

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2 a Boy A girle — To Daniel Gookin Senr A Boy named Joshua aged about eight yeares son to William wunuko late of magunkoog; his father dead.
To him a girle aged about six yeares daughter to the widdow quinshiske late of Shookanet beyond mendon

1 Girle — To Andrew Bordman Tayler of cambridge a girle named Anne sister to ye Last named.

1 Boy — To Thomas Prentis Junior son to Capt Prentis of Cambridge village a boy named John son to William Wunnako late of magnkoy that was executed for Thomas Burney, aged thirteen.

1 Boy — To Benjamin Mills of Dedham a boy aged about six years is [named?] Joseph Spoonans late of Marlboro.

1 Boy — To Mr Edward Jackson a Boy named Joseph aged about 12 yeares Late of magalygook cosen to Pyambow of Naticke.

1 Mayd — To Widdow Jackson[1] of Cambridge village a girle named Hope aged nine yeare her parents dead who wer of Narraganset.

1 Boy — To old Goodman Myles[2] of Dedham a boy of [yeares old. son to Annaweeken Decesed who was late of Hassanamesit his mother p^rsent.

1 Boy — To Capt. Thomas Prentis a Boy named Joseph son to Annaweken decesed Brother to the last named aged about 11 yeares ☞ this boy was after taken from Capt Prentice & sent up Mr Stoughton for [ ] Capt Prentis is to bee considered about it for hee has taken more care & paynes about those indians.

1 Boy — To John Smith of Dedham a boy aged about eight yeares his father dead late of Marlborow hee is Brother to James Printers wife

1 Mayd — To Mr John Flint [?] of Concord a mayd aged about [ ] yeares [*illegible*]

1 Boy — To Mr Jonathan Wade of mistick a Boy named Tom Aged about 11 yeares sonne to William Wunakhow of Magunkgog decesed

[1] Probably Margaret Jackson, widow of John Jackson, a brother of Edward Jackson.

[2] Probably Samuel Miles.

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1 Mayd To Mr Nathaniel Wade of mistick a maid aged about ten years daughter to Jame Natomet [?] late of Packachooge her father & mother dead

It is humbly proposed to the Honble Generall Court, to set the time these children shall serve; & if not less yn till they come to 20 yeares of age. unto wch those yt had relations seemed willing. and also that the Court lay som penalty upon them if they runne away before the time expire & on their parents or kindred yt shall entice or harborr & conceale ym if they should runne away

Signed By the Comitee Above named } DANIEL GOOKIN SENR
EDWARD OAKES.

Cambridge
8 ber 28 1676 [1]

III

ACCO[M]TT OF EXPENCES OF A JOURNY TO NEW YORKE VIZT.[2]

Att Fishers	£0 : 0 : 9	
Att Whites	0 : 1 : 4	
Att Whipples	0 : 10 : 9	
Att Eldridges	0 : 5 : 0	
Att Goodman Places	0 : 1 : 6	
Att Davils	0 : 6 : 0	
Att Pembertons	0 : 2 : 0	
Att Saxtons	0 : 4 : 6	
— Mistick Ferry	0 : 1 : 0	
— New London Ferry	0 : 1 : 4	£1 : 14 : 2
Shoeing the horse	0 : 4 : 0	
The boys 8d bear 3d	0 : 0 : 11	
Att Pecks	0 : 5 : 9	
Ferridge Saybrooke	0 : 2 : 8	
Clarks	0 : 3 : 6	
Post	0 : 11 : 0	
2 Shoes for your Horse	0 : 2 : 0	

[1] From the Chamberlain Manuscripts (A. 2. 36) in the Boston Public Library.

[2] The value of this document lies in the itinerary of the travellers. Many of the places are mentioned in Cuthbert Potter's Journal of a journey from Virginia to Boston and back in 1690 (printed in N. D. Mereness's Travels in the American Colonies, 1916, pp. 3–11), and in Madam Sarah Knight's Journal of a trip from Boston to New York and back in 1704–1705 (Albany, 1865). See also Sewall's Diary, under dates of April 21, 1690, and September 12, 1699; Jenkins, Old Boston Post Road (1913); 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 249.

The earliest printed description of the route from Boston to New York is the

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	Kellingsworth	0 : 2 : 4	
	Eliots	0 : 1 : 10	
	Att Branford	0 : 4 : 6	£1 : 18 : 6
	New Haven Ferry	0 : 1 : 0	
	Att New Haven	0 : 5 : 0	
	Stratford Ferry	0 : 1 : 6	
	Stratford	0 : 1 : 2	
	Fairfeild	0 : 3 : 0	
	Norwalk	0 : 1 : 0	
	Stamford	0 : 5 : 0	
	Rye	0 : 3 : 4	
	J[ohn] V[sher]	0 : 2 : 8	
	Kings Bridge	0 : 2 : 0	
	Halfe way House	0 : 0 : 9	
	Post	0 : 12 : 0	
	Bakers	0 : 4 : 6	£2 : 2 : 11
	Shoeing the Horse N. Yorke	0 : 3 : 0	
19th	Spent att Bakers	0 : 18 : 2	
20th	a Breakfast Do.	0 : 3 : 0	
	Mr. Randolph [1]	0 : 3 : 0	
21th	a Breakfast	0 : 1 : 6	
	Baker Horse Keeping, etc.	0 : 18 : 0	
	Eliza. Town Ferry	0 : 6 : 0	

following, taken from John Tulley's Almanack for 1698 (Publications of this Society, xiii. 220):

A Description of the High Ways, & Roads.

From Boston *to* New-York 278 *Miles, thus accounted.*

FRom *Boston* to *Dedham* 10 miles, thence to *Whites* 6, to *Billings* 7, to *Woodcocks* 10. Or, from *Dedham* to *Medfield* 9, to *Wrentham* 10, to *Woodcocks* 4 (which is the smoother Road) to *Providence* 15, to the *French* Town 20, to *Darby* 24, to *Pembertons* 3, to *Stonington* 12, to *New-London* 15, to *Say-Brook* 18, to *Killingsworth* 12, to *Guildford* 10, to *Branford* 12, *to New-Haven* 10, to *Mill-ford* 10, to *Stratford* 4, to *Fairfield* 8, to *Norwalk* 12, to *Standford* 10, to *Horseneck* 7, to *Rye* 7, to *Marineck* 4, to *New Rochel* 4, to *East-Chester* 4, to *Kings-bridge* 6, to the *Half-way-house* 9, and from thence to *New-York* 9 mile.

From New-York *to* Philadelphia 96 *mile, thus accounted.*

FRom *N-York* to *Elizabeth Town* (by water) 20 m. to *Woodbridge* 8 m. to *Piscattawa* 8 m. to *J[ ]inians* 2 m. thence (the new Road) to *Mill-stonebrook* 14 m. to *Assimpinks* 4 m. to *Croswicks-Bridge*, over *Doctors-brook* 8 m. then to *Burlington* by the *Mill* 12 m. thence to *Philadelphia* 20 mile.

[1] I believe this to have been Edward Randolph, whose official relations with Usher were close.

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	1 pint wine	0 : 1 : 0	
	¾ yd Ribband	0 : 1 : 1	
	Lodgeing att Eliza.Town	0 : 8 : 0	
	Onyons Ferridge etc.	0 : 5 : 10	
	Anthonys	0 : 9 : 8	£3 : 18 : 3
	Guide to Anthonys	1 : 4 : 0	
	Burlinton Grubbs	0 : 4 : 4	
	J[ohn] V[sher]	0 : 1 : 10	
	J[ohn] V[sher] (pr Contribut'n)	0 : 2 : 6	
	Capt. Coles 4 bottles wine	0 : 6 : 8	
	Werry Boate	1 : 1 : 0	
	J[ohn] V[sher] att Shipens	0 : 7 : 0	
	Grubbs Horse Keeping etc.	0 : 8 : 10	
	Ferry	0 : 4 : 0	
	Guide to Anthonys	0 : 2 : 0	
	Lodging etc. att Do.	0 : 4 : 2	£4 : 6 : 4
	Att Onyons Ferridge, etc.	0 : 4 : 6	
	1 pint wine with walker	0 : 1 : 0	
	Att Warrens	0 : 12 : 0	
	Horse Keeping	0 : 0 : 9	
	Warrens	0 : 6 : 6	
	Bottle of Rum for men	0 : 1 : 6	
	Warrens Maide	0 : 0 : 9	
	Passage to N. Yorke	0 : 1 : 6	
	J[ohn] V[sher] 5½ ps. 8/8	0 : 15 : 0	
Octor.	1 at Bakers		
	1 bottle wine	0 : 2 : 0	
	bear and Cheese	0 : 1 : 6	
2	2 bottles wine	0 : 4 : 0	
	bear	0 : 0 : 9	£2 : 11 : 9
	Dinner, vizt.		
	1 ps. beife 4 chickens Cheese, etc.	0 : 18 : 0	
	Posta. of a Letter	0 : 0 : 9	
	bear	0 : 0 : 6	
4th	a Breakfast	0 : 1 : 6	
	peaches and Potatoes	0 : 0 : 6	
	Supper	0 : 1 : 0	
	Keeping Horses Eliza Town	0 : 3 : 9	
	Ferridge pd Gold	0 : 9 : 0	
6	Shoeing black Horse	0 : 3 : 0	

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bear and Tankard	0 : 0 : 6	
bottle wine	0 : 2 : 0	
Oates	0 : 2 : 0	
J[ohn] V[sher] Coffee House	0 : 1 : 6	£2 : 4 : 0
washing Linen	0 : 1 : 6	
Potatoes	0 : 1 : 0	
Morse Horse Keeping	0 : 3 : 6	
J[ohn] V[sher]	0 : 1 : 6	
Lodgeing etc. for B. E.	0 : 6 : 0	
Fourt	0 : 18 : 0	
Potters children	0 : 12 : 0	
Do. Negroes	0 : 3 : 0	
Grayhams Negro	0 : 3 : 0	
Rye	0 : 2 : 0	
Stamford	0 : 4 : 8	
Guide	0 : 2 : 0	
Norwalk	0 : 2 : 0	3 : 0 : 2
Guide	0 : 2 : 8	
Stratford Ferry	0 : 1 : 0	
Fairfeild	0 : 1 : 4	
Millford	0 : 2 : 8	
New Haven	0 : 1 : 4	
—— Ferry	0 : 1 : 0	
Branford	0 : 3 : 8	
Eliots	0 : 1 : 6	
Next town	0 : 2 : 0	
Ferridge	0 : 1 : 4	
Lime	0 : 3 : 2	
Guide	0 : 1 : 4	
Ferry	0 : 2 : 0	
Chandlers N: London	0 : 11 : 0	1 : 16 : 0
Chandlers Maide and boye	0 : 2 : 0	
N. London Ferry	0 : 2 : 0	
dead Horse	0 : 12 : 0	
Saxtons	0 : 1 : 6	
Pembertons	0 : 1 : 6	
Guide	0 : 0 : 8	
Lodgeing, etc.	0 : 2 : 6	
Canonicutt Ferry	0 : 2 : 0	
Rhode Island Ferry	0 : 3 : 0	
shoeing Horse	0 : 2 : 8	

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Newbys	0 : 5 : 6	
Bristoll Ferry	0 : 1 : 0	
Mr. Saffins[1] maids and boye	0 : 3 : 8	
—— Ferry	0 : 0 : 9	
Oates for Horses	0 : 0 : 8	
Billins	0 : 3 : 0	
Deadham	0 : 1 : 6	2 : 5 : 11
		£25 : 18 : 0[2]

Mr. MATTHEWS contributed the following note on the word Pilgrim:

In a paper on the term Pilgrim Fathers, communicated two years ago, it was shown that the expressions "pilgrim man" and "heirs of Pilgrims" were employed by Robert Treat Paine, Jr., in an ode written for the Boston celebration of Forefathers' Day on December 22, 1798, while the term Pilgrim Fathers was first used by Samuel Davis in an ode composed for the Boston celebration in 1799.[3] Let me call attention to a still earlier use of the word Pilgrim, as applied to those who first came to this country. The Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society was organized on November 20, 1792, and incorporated on June 25, 1794; and for over twenty years, beginning with 1795, the society held public celebrations for which addresses and songs were written by more or less distinguished persons. An advertisement in the Mercury of May 29, 1795 (p. 3/3), stated that on that afternoon an address would be delivered "by the vice president of the society," who at that time was George Richards Minot, and that an ode "on the occasion, by a citizen of Boston," would be sung. Paine's ode was in seven stanzas, of which the first three are as follows:

[1] John Saffin appears to have removed from Boston to Bristol at some time between June 4, 1686, when he was described as "of Boston," and August 14, 1689, when he was chosen deputy from Bristol (Plymouth Colony Records, vi. 189, 212; cf. Publications of this Society, i. 86 note). Edward Randolph's first visit to New York was apparently in 1688. He left Boston late in July of that year, reached New York on August 11, was in Philadelphia on August 19, was again in New York on August 29, was at Fort Albany on September 12, and was once more in New York on October 2: see Edward Randolph (Prince Society), ii. 73–77, iv. 233, 235, 240, vi. 257, 258, 260; Publications of this Society, xvii. 9 note 4). Exactly when he returned from Fort Albany to New York cannot be ascertained, but it may well have been by September 20, on which date he is mentioned in the expense account.

[2] Jeffries Family Papers, iv. 95.

[3] Publications of this Society, xvii. 326, 331.

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Ode,

Composed for the anniversary of the MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE FIRE SOCIETY.

BY THOMAS PAINE, A.B.

Tune — "*Rule Britannia.*"

WHEN first the Sun o'er Ocean glow'd,
And Earth unveil'd her virgin breast;
Mid barren Nature's vast abode,
Was heard th' ALMIGHTY's dread behest:
Rise, COLUMBIA, *brave and free*;
Poize the Globe, and bound the Sea!

In darkness wrapp'd, with fetters chain'd;
Will ages grope, debas'd and blind;
With blood the human hand be stain'd —
With tyrant-power, the human mind.
Rise, COLUMBIA, &c.

But, lo, across th' Atlantic floods,
The Star-directed pilgrim sails!
See! fell'd by COMMERCE, float thy woods;
And, cloath'd by CERES, wave thy vales!
Rise, COLUMBIA, &c.[1]

Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated a Memoir of William Cross Williamson, written for the Transactions by Grace Williamson Edes.[2]

[1] Mercury, June 16, 1795, p. 4/1. The ode was also printed in the Massachusetts Magazine for May, 1795, vii. 121. In Paine's Works, published in 1812, it is stated that the ode was "Written for, and sung at the first Anniversary of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, 1794" (p. 243), where the year is of course an error for 1795.

[2] The preparation of a memoir of Mr. Williamson was assigned to his classmate, our late associate Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, who died before he had performed the labor. As Mr. Williamson's papers afforded material for such a work, his daughter, Mrs. Edes, was persuaded to prepare this tribute to her father's memory.

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM CROSS WILLIAMSON, A.M.

BY

GRACE WILLIAMSON EDES

William Cross Williamson was born at Belfast, Maine, on the thirty-first day of January, 1831. All his ancestors on both sides of the family were in this country before 1675 and all were of English origin.

Timothy Williamson, the emigrant of the race, came to America in the suite of Mr. Edward Bulkeley of Bedfordshire, England, and sat down at Marshfield, where he was killed in one of the Indian raids. His grandson, Caleb Williamson, moved to Canterbury, Connecticut, and there Mr. Williamson's grandfather, Captain George Williamson, grew up and married; but desiring to obtain for his large family better educational advantages than were to be found in that secluded hamlet, he moved to Vermont and settled for a time in Woodstock. Joseph, his second surviving son and the father of William Cross Williamson, graduated from the University of Vermont in 1812, and, having been admitted to the Bar in 1816, settled in Belfast, Maine. In 1820 he was appointed Attorney for Hancock County, an office which he continued to hold for many years after the organization of Waldo County. He was president of the Maine Senate and in 1839 received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Brown University.

Mr. Williamson's mother was Caroline, daughter of William Cross of Newburyport, the third in a line of noted shipbuilders prominent in the affairs of their town,[1] who had also rendered their country ac-

[1] Two of the five new sloops of war ordered by vote of the General Court in 1776 for defence of the seacoast came from the yards of Cross and Greenleaf;

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Wm C Williamson

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait from life

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tive service during the Revolutionary War. William Cross was a man of much cultivation, and the education of his daughter Caroline had been his especial care. In letters of the time we find the story of her courtship, of the visit she made to Belfast in the family of her cousin Nancy Atkinson, who had married another kinsman, the Hon. Alfred Johnson, and of how the latter's brother, Ralph Cross Johnson, and the young lawyer, Joseph Williamson, both met and fell in love with her and on her return to Newburyport followed her to pay their addresses. Joseph Williamson was first in the field, however, and before us in faded ink we have the simple straightforward words wherein he asked her father for his daughter's hand, and William Cross's consent, touched with his sorrow at the thought of parting with a "favorite daughter." Mrs. Williamson is said to have been a woman of unusual charm and dignity, worshipped by her family; and she certainly made a lasting impression on all who knew her.

William was her second son and named for his maternal grandfather. The days of his boyhood were those of simple pleasures for old and young, before the lure of the larger centres had called away all that was best from the lesser communities, and although the circle in Belfast was small, it was none the less a refined and scholarly one. Juvenile books and entertainments were few, but they were all the more appreciated and enjoyed, and called forth the inventive powers of the youth of the time in a way worthy of the example of Rollo and his playfellows. Theatricals, then as now, were a favorite recreation of boys and girls, and the Williamson barn was the theatre *par excellence*. Elaborate playbills, made with infinite labor, each separate letter of the names being cut out from newspapers and pasted upon a

in 1778 a 20-gun ship was ordered from them; and they owned and equipped many privateers during the years 1775 to 1778.

Ralph Cross was captain of the Militia in 1772, holding a commission from the Royal Governor. He was appointed Major by ballot from the House of Representatives of the Second Essex Regiment and signalized himself by his zeal in training his men. In 1776 he became Lieut.-Colonel of Col. Samuel Johnson's Regiment, serving in the Northern Department from August to November, 1777. He joined camp at Stillwater 14 October, 1778, and early engaged in the battle which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne at which he was present. The musket which he carried is now in the possession of his great-great-grandson, Alfred Johnson. Ralph Cross continued in active service through 1782. In 1802 he was appointed Collector of Customs of the port of Newburyport and continued to hold the office until his death. (See C. Cushing, History of Newburyport; J. J. Currier, History of Newburyport; and Capt. Edward Johnson, by Alfred Johnson.)

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sheet, bear witness to the care given to each performance. Pizarro and The Death of Rolla were the most popular dramas, varied occasionally by The Iron Chest, and Black Eyed Susan for lighter vein; and of this band of "Thespians" young Williamson was evidently the leader, playing the double part of stage manager and chief actor, his talents as a musician — he played the violin — no doubt adding to his usefulness.

The winter of 1847 he passed in Roxbury in the household of Henry B. Wheelwright,[1] who prepared him for college; he entered Harvard in 1848.

The class of 1852, although theirs was the "widest wreath that ever circled the old class tree," [2] as Mr. Williamson proudly asserts in his class poem, yet numbered but eighty-eight. Of these all were known to one another, and to the chosen band who studied and played together through those four happy, carefree years, the tie was only less strong than that of brotherhood. That young Williamson was popular and deeply loved by the small coterie of which he was one, and which seems to have presided largely over the literary and social interests of the class of 1852, was evident. His musical talents procured his entrance into the Pierian Sodality. In addition to his violin he had a sweet baritone voice and an absolutely correct ear; moreover he had a pretty talent for verse making, and as that was the era of poesy and all gatherings were attended with song, his effusions were no doubt in some request. His was the generation which preserved carefully all written words, and laid away with programmes and catalogues of his college days we find the notice that he had been chosen into the Pierian Sodality, "to which he is requested to bring his violin;" of his election to the Institute of 1770 with its imposing red waxen seal; to the Iadma, a debating club which ended with the class of 1852 and of which he was president; and to the Harvard Lodge of Odd Fellows, also a short-lived society. He was poet and secretary of the Hasty Pudding Club and displayed his histrionic talents in their theatricals, where his six feet two as Mrs. O'Scuttle were long remembered. He belonged also to the Alpha Delta Phi and to a small society, which probably did not survive the graduation of the class,

[1] Henry Blatchford Wheelwright (H. C. 1844).

[2] For a perfect picture of Harvard Class Day from 1850 to 1855, see The Thinking Bayonet, by James Kendall Hosmer.

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called the K Punch Bowl. The bowl still exists, having been bequeathed by his classmate Horace Richardson to Mr. Williamson. Although the secretary of the Pudding Club appends to his report of one meeting that the revels were "adjourned at one o'clock or later," and in spite of their frequent adjurations to the flowing cup, they seem to have been a very decorous set of youths, the only testimony to the contrary we find being a letter to "E. Chace, Esq." [1] dated October, 1849, in which nine sinners, among whom was Mr. Williamson, offer an apology for "their undignified and unbecoming behavior in having been engaged in an attack upon his rooms."

Cambridge and Boston were farther apart then than now, and we do not hear of many visits to the metropolis, save when stars like Charlotte Cushman proved an insuperable attraction; but social festivities were not wanting, and an invitation "If agreeable to Mr. Williamson the Ladies of the Cotillion party which meets every Monday evening will be happy to consider him a member," reads quaintly as compared with the formulæ of invitations of the present day. In his letters home Williamson speaks of meeting Kossuth and his comrades (Mrs. Lowell[2] of Quincy Street gave several receptions for "the Hungarians") and also of a large evening party at Mr. Forbes's[3] in Milton, from which they reached home some time after three A.M. A noticeable feature of the invitations is that they rarely bear any date except that of the day of the week, showing how few were the engagements in those days of leisure.

Letter writing was at its height in those years and young Williamson could not go home for a recess without receiving many effusions to keep him posted in the important doings of classmates and faculty during his absence. Stedman[4] writes in August, 1857, that "that noodle of a Sparks[5] has had the posts and chains, those familiar

[1] No person of this name is known to have been in college or in Cambridge in October, 1849. The reference is probably to Thomas Chase (H. C. 1848), a tutor 1850–1853, afterwards President of Haverford College, although Theodore Chase (H. C. 1853), then a Freshman, may have been the man.

[2] Charles Russell Lowell (H. C. 1826) married Anna Cabot Jackson, who died 1874. They lived for many years in the house No. 24 Quincy Street, Cambridge, now occupied by Professor Farlow: see R. S. Rantoul, Personal Recollections (1916), pp. 62–66.

[3] John Murray Forbes.

[4] Charles Ellery Stedman (H. C. 1852).

[5] President Jared Sparks.

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comforts of the College yard removed, uprooted! evaded!! erupted!!! Can't you write a lament for the chains?" and at the same time offers his congratulations on Williamson's having won the Boylston, while Mr. Choate[1] disrespectfully comments on the dampening effect on the spirits of sitting under the Rev. Dr. Francis[2] or any other of the Cambridge divines.

During that last joyous senior year a congenial band occupied the east entry of Holworthy and there "Jim Thayer[3] and Bill Williamson" chummed together, an association never to be forgotten by either. Class Day and Commencement came later then than now, and we think that to many besides Mr. Williamson the scent of the syringa in after years must have brought back the memory of summer noons in the tree-embowered village which was the Cambridge of those days, and of moonlight nights in the College yard where the elm trees cast their shadows on the grass and the strains of the old songs which we still love and sing floated out upon the air while those who sang yet lingered at the parting of the ways, and the "world was all before them where to choose."

The crowning satisfaction of Williamson's senior year was his election as class poet, and his parents were to travel to Cambridge for their son's graduation. His mother had long suffered from that fell disease, old-fashioned consumption, but hers was a spirit which rose above physical ills, and although she had been less well than usual, she and her husband started on their journey. At Gardiner, Maine, the end came very suddenly.

The relations between William and his father and mother seem to have been unusually sympathetic for those days of rather formal parental custom, and his letters to the former are very simple and unstilted, punctuated by the college boy's inevitable request for money and details of tailors' bills; but his mother was his chosen friend and confidante — sharer of all his hopes and fears and little triumphs. In a letter to his father after his return to Cambridge he writes of her with rare tenderness and feeling, but he was of those who speak not of their sorrows, and thereafter her name was never mentioned by him, save to one who was his other self. Yet we know that the memory of

[1] Joseph Hodges Choate (H. C. 1852).

[2] Rev. Convers Francis (H. C. 1815).

[3] James Bradley Thayer. See Publications of this Society, vii. 296–318.

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gentle words which she had uttered and the lessons she had taught remained with him to the end.

Pleasant reading are the notes from his classmates which followed him to Belfast on his sad journey, — very full of affectionate sympathy, they all breathe a simple faith in a future life which has in it something very touching. Mr. Thayer sent him a full account of the incidents of Class Day: "Stubby Child[1] told Joe [Choate] that he had no idea that there was anyone in the class of '52 who could write so good a poem and Joe read it very well but they all missed you."

Law was the family profession, and although there had been no question as to what should be Williamson's career, the shadow of his mother's death turned his mind for a time to more serious things and he considered entering the ministry. It is pretty to see the sage solemnity with which those of his friends to whom he confided his possible change of programme discussed the pros and cons, the chief argument for the church being that it might leave him freer for the literary life for which they thought him fitted. This was but a passing fancy, although Mr. Williamson did not enter the law school until 1853. In the autumn of 1852, through the instrumentality of his friend Mr. Choate, he was offered a position as tutor in the family of John Appleton Haven (H. C. 1813). Mr. Haven's home was at Fort Washington on the Hudson; being blessed with a quiverful of seven daughters, he was in the habit, as was the extraordinary custom of the time, of turning loose into his dove cot as preceptor a susceptible young man in the first flush of his college honors. They were a charming and cultivated family, and there Williamson passed a delightful winter as tutor to the three youngest daughters, all girls of brilliancy and promise. His predecessor in office had been James Coolidge Carter (H. C. 1850),[2] and Mr. Choate writes Williamson, laughingly, in one of his letters to beware of the perils of his position because "Carter was smashed immediately." The merry words read sadly in the light of after years, for it was well known to his intimate friends that it was his love for the fair girl whose tragic end was even then so near at hand which made Mr. Carter a lifelong bachelor. In January, 1855, three years after Mr. Williamson had left Fort Washington, fire broke out in the Haven mansion one evening while Mr. and Mrs.

[1] Francis James Child (H. C. 1846).

[2] For a notice of Mr. Carter, see Publications of this Society, x. 60–67.

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Haven were away, and the three youngest daughters were burned to death. The terrible accident was the occasion of the following stanzas which Mr. Williamson wrote and published in the New York Evening Post on the twenty-third of January:

The three sisters were buried side by side; white roses lay upon their breasts, and the caskets were crowned with flowers.

Oh, bear them to their rest!
White roses on their breasts, and in their hands;
Through slumber, deep and blest,
They pass in beauty, to the eternal lands.

Theirs was no outworn life,
Of broken hopes and ill-remembered vows;
The world's sad care and strife
Had traced no sorrow on their marble brows.

Oh, call them not too young!
God's peace was on their lips — their life was love.
Long was their stay — too long
For angels who had left their homes above.

The weeping spring shall come,
And strew the paths they loved with tender green;
The jay shall build her home
In arbors where their favorite haunts have been.

They shall come back no more;
Morning shall miss their glad, sweet smiles, and deep
The pines' perpetual roar
Break o'er the spot where, side by side, they sleep.

And will ye still complain,
Whose cheeks with unavailing tears are wet?
They shall be yours again!
Beyond this prison house of dark regret.

If perfect sight were ours,
Ye could not mourn them lost, but humbly say:
"The Father gave these flowers,
And the dear Father taketh them away."

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Oh, bear them to their rest!
White roses on their breasts and in their hands;
Through slumber, deep and blest,
They pass in beauty, to the eternal lands.

In 1855 Mr. Williamson received his degree of LL.B. from Harvard and was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in June, 1856. During the intervening years he had published poems and essays in various magazines, and was asked to contribute to several of the poetic anthologies which were then in fashion. He was invited to deliver the Fourth of July oration in his native town, and was often called upon to lecture for the Lyceum courses, at that time an important feature in New England life. On such occasions the best bedroom, despised of Dr. Holmes, was no doubt his portion. He and Melville Fuller[1] had been correspondents from boyhood, and we find that the latter also appeared on the Lyceum platforms, a note returning a borrowed ten-dollar bill expressing regret that fees came in so slowly to "soldiers of fortune" like himself.

On being admitted to the Bar Mr. Williamson entered the office of Elias Hasket Derby[2] and in due time became his partner; and on Mr. Derby's retiring from practice he formed a partnership with his son, George Strong Derby,[3] which lasted until the latter's death. Their offices were in the second story of the old building on the corner of Tremont and Court streets, where Washington stopped in 1789 when he visited Boston during the first year of his presidency.

Young Williamson settled in Boston and lived during his bachelor life in the boarding-house, then quite well known, which was kept by Miss Easton[4] in Bowdoin Square. He soon became a member of a rather literary circle, among whom he was called the "young Antinous." It is safe to say that the sobriquet never reached his ears, for he was always utterly contemptuous of his personal beauty. He belonged also to several musical societies, taking lessons on the violin for many years from the late Thomas Ryan, and continued to contribute to the North American Review and Putnam's Magazine.

[1] Melville Weston Fuller (1833–1910), afterward Chief Justice of the United States and an Honorary Member of this Society.

[2] H. C. 1824.

[3] Harvard Law School, 1861.

[4] Mary Ann Smith Easton, daughter of Dr. Peter Easton of Nantucket.

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The College affiliations were not forgotten, and in 1857 he read a poem at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Alpha Delta Phi in New York, the orator on the occasion being Donald G. Mitchell; in the same year he was one of the directors of the Harvard Club in Boston, which had been founded in 1855 but which enjoyed only a brief existence. He was for a time interested in politics, and in 1858 and 1859 sat in the Common Council and was president of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Boston.

In 1858 Mr. Williamson was taken by a classmate to the opera to meet the woman, then in the first bloom of her girlhood beauty, whose presence was to make his life's chief happiness until his dying hour.[1] They were married in 1863.

With the death of his law partner came one of the greatest sorrows of his life. They had been singularly congenial, Mr. Derby's keen sense of humor and almost boyish gaiety forming a counterpoise to the other's more serious disposition. He was thought to be recovering from rheumatic fever when the disease attacked his heart. Mr. Williamson was playing on his violin, the subject of many of Mr. Derby's merry quips, when the news of his death was brought to him; he never played again.

Heretofore he had taken the court practice of the firm and was known as a successful advocate with both judge and jury, but he gradually withdrew from this branch of the profession and devoted himself to chamber practice, conveyancing, and the care of trust estates.

In 1861 he was made Commissioner in Insolvency, and from 1878 to 1888 he was on the School Committee of which he was president in the latter year. He was always interested in educational matters and his breadth of religious vision enabled him to hold the balance true between the claims of Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, in our increasingly heterogeneous population. He was a principal founder and counsel for the North End Savings Bank, and in 1890 was appointed one of the commissioners on the publication of the Province Laws. All other offices he invariably declined, even that of Probate Judge, concerning which he was approached at one time,

[1] He married, 29 April, 1863, Sarah Howland Ricketson, daughter of Benjamin Tucker Ricketson of New Bedford, and sister of John Howland Ricketson (H. C. 1859), a Corresponding Member of this Society.

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holding no attractions for him. Opportunities for good are not confined to the two other liberal professions, and he did many kind deeds, gave much wise counsel for which he received no recompense, but in very truth his left hand knew not the doings of his right. Many years after his death a lady told his daughter of his being sent to her by friends when she was in the greatest trouble which can befall a woman. "He came," she said, "and I felt as if half my burden had dropped from me."

Mr. Williamson was an intense lover of Nature; he and his wife were of the generation which loved to roam the "meadows, hills, and groves" with a volume of Emerson, Wordsworth or Tennyson, and before the writer there rises a picture of an August afternoon in the Magnolia woods where Mr. Williamson read Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality to a spellbound group, his beautiful voice lending fuller meaning to the words than they had ever held before, his listeners said. As a young man he was a member of the Boston Cadets. He belonged also to the Union and St. Botolph Clubs, the Harvard Musical Association, and the Examiner Club.

In 1890 a great pleasure came to him and the other members of the class of 1852 in the founding of a dining club of eight which met monthly at their different houses. Although Williamson had written a poem for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Class, in the stress and turmoil of middle life the classmates had necessarily drifted apart and the renewal of the old bond was a happiness to all.

But above all and before all his heart was in his home, his fireside, and the books he loved. During his earlier years he had given much study to the German poets. He possessed a gift for translation and for catching the spirit of the original, and his rendering into English verse of some of the shorter poems of Goethe and others is very graceful. "Happy the man," says Dr. Holmes, "who finds his rest in the pages of some favorite classic! I know no man more to be envied than that friend of mine who for many years has given his days and nights to the loving study of Horace;"[1] and by the same token, in his later years, Mr. Williamson devoted himself to the study of Horatius Flaccus. He translated many of the Odes and became indeed one of the foremost Horatian scholars in the country. He left also unfinished notes on the allusions, plagiarisms and quotations from Horace to be

[1] Over the Teacups.

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found in English and German literature from a very early period to the present day. In recognition of his scholarship, in 1901 he was elected a member of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He had a collection of the best editions of Horace, many of them very rare and valuable, — published in France and Germany as well as in England. They were left by Mrs. Williamson to the Harvard College Library.

The last poem which Mr. Williamson ever wrote was the sonnet which he read at the meeting of this Society held in memory of his chum James Bradley Thayer;[1] and his last literary work was the memoir of his older brother, Judge Joseph Williamson of Belfast, whose death preceded his own by six months.[2] He had been for some time in failing health and the end came at his summer home in Weston on June thirteenth, 1903.[3]

Mr. Williamson was elected a Resident Member of this Society in April, 1893.

If, to transpose the line of Goldsmith, "Virtues may lean to failing's side," perhaps Mr. Williamson's greatest fault was an excess of modesty in that he could never realize the fullness "of the argument his life to his neighbor's creed had lent." After his death letters came to his wife from persons he had scarcely known telling of the deep impression and lasting influence his character had made upon the writers. The motto of his race *Constare in Sententio* was exemplified in him, for above all he was unswerving and faithful. With great gentleness of personality was blended a charm, the accompaniment perhaps of his poetic nature, which inspired in his friends a tenderness of affection such as men usually reserve for women, but with all his gentleness, let any question of honor or principle be involved and he was as rock — gentle still — calm, but absolutely unbending.

One of his friends wrote of him in the summer of his death:

It is of incalculable value to us when any man lives out his own life to the end, true to the best. This was his life. He lived his own life, not another's and in his own way. He was true to his principles, true to him-

[1] Publications, vii. 307.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1903, lvii. 345–350.

[3] A notice of Mr. Williamson appeared in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for September, 1903, xii. 97–99.

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self and could not be false to anyone. "I have kept the faith." Immersed in the details of his profession, with the burden upon him of the interests of many clients whose welfare was never for a moment overlooked or forgotten, his poetic nature lived undisturbed. The music of his soul caught no discordant notes from the turmoil of his profession. He was a scholar from first to last, a poet by nature and achievement.

In truth, no words could apply to him more fitly than those with which he closed the memoir of his brother:

How happy is he born and taught,
Who serveth not another's will;
Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill!

Whose passions not his masters are,
Whose soul is still prepared for death,
Untied unto the worldly care
Of public fame, or public breath;

* * * *

This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1917

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, on Thursday, 25 January, 1917, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. EDMUND BURKE DELABARRE and Mr. WILLIAM MACDONALD, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. E. B. DELABARRE read the following paper:

MIDDLE PERIOD OF DIGHTON ROCK HISTORY

During the earliest period of interest in Dighton Rock and its strange writing,[1] there seem to have been some, as Professor Greenwood implied in 1730, who suspected that possibly its characters were Oriental. This belief was doubtless closely connected with the many current theories as to the origin of the American Indians, — a problem which aroused interested discussion from almost the very earliest days of the colonies.[2] On the one hand, northwestern Europe was looked upon by some as the home-land of some at least of the Indian tribes. But even more widely accepted as parents of the aborigines were Orientals, either from the eastern parts of Asia, such as the Siberian Tartars, the Chinese, or the Japanese, or from its western borders, such as the Lost Tribes of Israel, the sea-faring

[1] See Early Interest in Dighton Rock, Publications of this Society, xviii. 235–299, 417.

[2] See G. L. Kittredge, Letters of Samuel Lee and Samuel Sewall (Publications of this Society, xiv. 147, 166–171, 178 f).

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Phœnicians, or even the exiled Trojans.[1] It was natural that, when this rock became known, some of the advocates of one theory or another should find in its curious characters evidence in favor of their views. But up to this time no very definite theory concerning the origin of the inscription had taken shape. During the next following one hundred years after Greenwood, it became generally held that some ancient people of Oriental origin carved this monument, and several theories ascribing it to different Oriental sources were announced. Some of them went so far as to discover a definite meaning for nearly every line upon the rock. Yet there continued an undercurrent of opposition to such speculations, and a belief that either the American Indians, or even the action of natural forces alone, were responsible for the markings.

Drawing by John Winthrop, 1744; Opinions of William Douglass, 1747

Indeed, it was a theory of the latter sort that was the first one expressed. Greenwood's contribution remained buried, as we have seen, for over fifty years, and Mather's continued to be the only one in print. In 1744 or earlier John Winthrop, Greenwood's successor in the Hollisian chair at Harvard, made a rough and incomplete sketch from the rock, as we learn from a letter which he wrote many years later. But he did not preserve this copy. So it was left for William Douglass to make the next contribution in print. Except historically, it is quite as unimportant as was Cotton Mather's own. The one distorts and misrepresents the appearance of the inscription, the other tells us that there is no inscription there; and neither of these men, apparently, had made a personal inspection of the rock. Yet until 1781 their accounts remained all that there was in print on this subject, with the exception of Neal's brief quotation from Mather.

[1] This controversy about the original peopling of America is too intricate to receive discussion here, and I deal with it only in so far as it affects opinion concerning Dighton Rock. For more detailed information, the following sources, among others, may be consulted: S. F. Haven, Archæology of the United States, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (1856), viii. chap. i, ii; Winsor, Pre-Columbian Explorations, in Narrative and Critical History of America, i; P. B. Watson, Bibliography of the Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America, in Library Journal (1881), vi. 227–244.

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The occasion of Douglass's utterance seems to have been a desire to continue a quarrel begun with Cotton Mather years before,[1] and to make further ridicule of his opinions. They had been at first on friendly terms. But in 1721 Mather warmly advocated the cause of inoculation for small-pox. "On September 25th Dr. William Douglass, the vociferous and determined opponent of Mather and Boylston [who performed the first inoculation in Boston], wrote from Boston to Alexander Stuart, M.D., F.R.S., in London, inquiring what English physicians thought of 'this rash practice,' expressing his own opposition to it, and describing Mather as 'a certain credulous Preacher of this place.'"[2] Douglass continued the attack further, challenging Mather's right to call himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, ridiculing his communications to that body, and speaking of him as "a Man of *Whim* and *Credulity*," a "certain *Gentleman*, (who you know in times past has been troublesome to the R.S. with his trivial credulous Stories)," a "credulous vain preacher," and the like. This rancor was long enduring, for in a passage first published in 1747 the same sneering depreciation of Mather is still evident, this time applied to the latter's views concerning Dighton Rock. The passage is as follows:

> They [the Indians] had no Characters, that is, *Hieroglyphics*, or letters; they had a few Symbols or Signatures, as if in a *Heraldry* way to distinguish Tribes, the principal were the *Tortoise*, the *Bear*, the *Wolf*. There was not the least Vestige of Letters in *America*; some Years since a certain credulous Person, and voluminous Author, imposed upon himself and others; he observed in a tiding River, a Rock, which, as it was not of an uniform Substance, the ebbing and flowing of the Tide made a Sort of *vermoulure*, Honey-combing or etching on its face; here he imagined, that he had discovered the *American Indian* Characters, and overjoy'd, remits some Lines of his imaginary Characters to the *Royal Society* in *London*: See *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 339. [Here Mather is quoted.] This may be supposed wrote *Anno* 1714: At present *Anno* 1747 by the continued ebbing and flowing the Honey-combing is so altered as not in the least to resemble his Draught of the Characters.[3]

[1] G. L. Kittredge, Cotton Mather's Election into the Royal Society (Publications of this Society, xiv. 102–106).

[2] xiv. 103.

[3] Summary, etc., 1747, no. 11, pp. 170–171. This work was originally issued in numbers, each consisting of a half-title and sixteen pages of text. These

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It is true that the lower part of Mather's drawing does not in the least resemble the characters on the rock.[1] But the inference is not justified that this was due to a growing alteration effected by the tides. It seems probable that Douglass obtained his knowledge of the present state of the rock in 1747 from some one else. I know of no one who has actually seen the rock itself and afterward written about it, who believed that its markings were entirely due to natural processes alone; though this view is expressed from time to time by persons who were not themselves first-hand observers of it.

Ezra Stiles, 1767

The fact that Ezra Stiles expressed certain opinions concerning Dighton Rock in his Election Sermon of 1783 is well known. This, and the passages in his Diary in which he refers to the rock, will be discussed in their appropriate order later. But that he made three separate drawings of it in 1767, and another in 1788, is never mentioned in the literature of the subject. In surveying the earlier history of this interesting rock, we met with many curious examples of persistent error and with many strange omissions of discoverable fact, yet none of them was more surprising than is this almost complete ignoring of the important and repeated investigations by Dr. Stiles. The facts were known to many at the time; the drawings

original parts are rare, but the Harvard College Library owns the first seventeen, though the half-titles of only two (nos. 1 and 13) have been preserved. The passage quoted in the text must have appeared in no. 11. An advertisement in the Boston Evening Post of Monday, February 9, 1747, stated that "*Saturday last was published, A Summary,* . . . By W. D. M.D. No. 1. To be continued" (p. 2/2). And the Boston News Letter of September 10, 1747, advertised "Just published, *Number* XI" (p. 4/2).

According to Drake's Dictionary of American Biography (p. 278), William Douglass was a physician and author, born in Scotland about 1691, settled at Boston 1718, died there 1752. "He was a violent antagonist of Dr. Boylston, in his efforts to introduce inoculation. His learning was considerable; but his prejudices were strong, and he lacked judgment and taste. He wrote many political essays in the newspapers, which were generally filled with sarcastic remarks upon the magistrates, the clergy, the physicians, and the people of N. E. His 'Summary' . . . is inaccurate, and records his private squabbles as well as public affairs." See also A. McF. Davis, Colonial Currency Reprints (Prince Society), iii. 250–254.

[1] In the supplementary note to my earlier paper, I showed that this was due partly to his lack of skill as a draughtsman, but much more to the fact that this part of his drawing was published upside-down.

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and the opinions that accompany them are fully as worthy of mention and preservation as are any of the others; they have always been readily accessible; and their author was an intelligent observer, a man of high position and a recognized authority at the time on this very subject of inscribed rocks.[1] In 1767 he was minister at Newport. His Itinerary,[2] preserved in the Library of Yale University, describes these visits to Dighton Rock, and contains some of the drawings that he made. With the courteous assistance of Professor Franklin B. Dexter I have examined the scattered passages which refer to this subject. I reproduce them not in the irregular order in which the field-notes were jotted down, but rearranged and to some degree condensed.

Attention has already been called to the fact that Dr. Stiles's interest in the Rock was first excited when Mr. Checkley showed him a copy of the Mather Broadside in the fall of 1766.[3] On May 27, 1767, he learned from Mr. Edward Shove of Assonet Neck that the "cyphered Stone" was situated half a mile from the latter's house. On June 5th he rode from Taunton to Shove's house, and they went together to the Writing Rock. "I began to take off some of the Characters, but without Chalking first. Next day I chalked the marks and took them more distinctly. . . . Spent the forenoon in Decyphering about Two Thirds the Inscription, which I take to be in phoenician Letters & 3000 years old."

[1] Ezra Stiles was born December 10, 1727, at North Haven, Connecticut; graduated Yale, 1746; practised law 1753–1755; minister at Newport, 1755 to 1776. His congregation being dispersed by the war, but his pastoral relation not broken, he resided in Dighton from March 12, 1776, to May 22, 1777. He removed thence to preach at Portsmouth, N. H. In 1778, he was elected President of Yale College, and died May 12, 1795. See A. Holmes, Life of Ezra Stiles, 1798; also Stiles's Literary Diary, 1901.

A clue to the existence of the drawings and unpublished materials is afforded by certain passages in the Diary and in the Election Sermon. It is through Professor Dexter that I located the material; and I am further under deep obligation to him for indispensable guidance in finding the pertinent passages. The two drawings in the Itinerary were photographed for me under the direction of the late Mr. J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University; and a photostat of the other drawing was made for me by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] Last autumn Professor Dexter edited a volume entitled Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles: see pp. 234–235 for Dighton Rock. The passages quoted in the text of this paper, most of which are not reproduced in this printed volume, are copied from the original manuscripts.

[3] Publications of this Society, xviii. 264.

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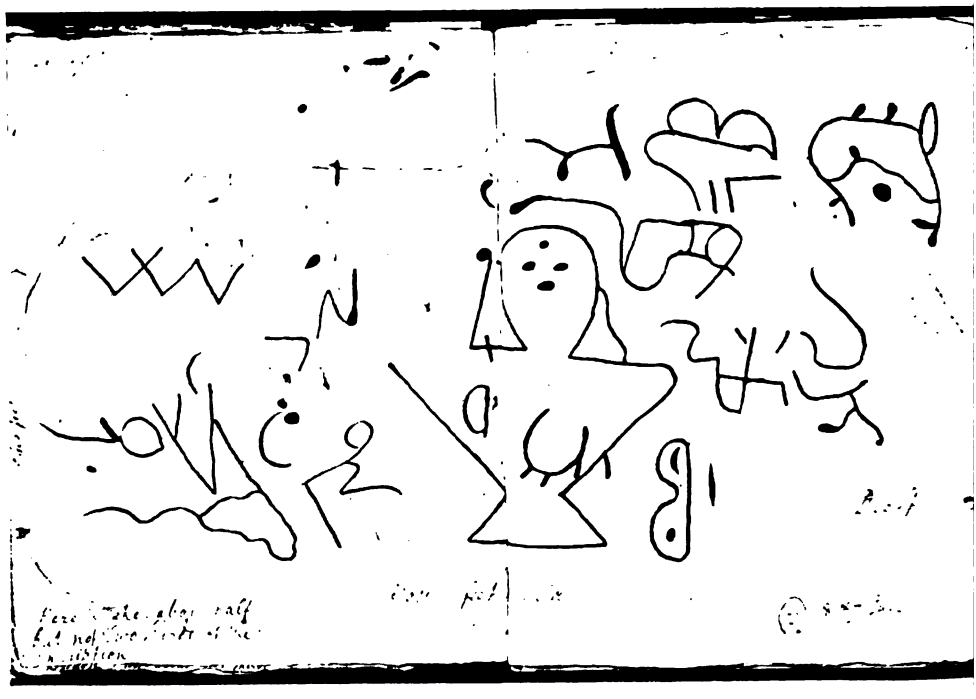

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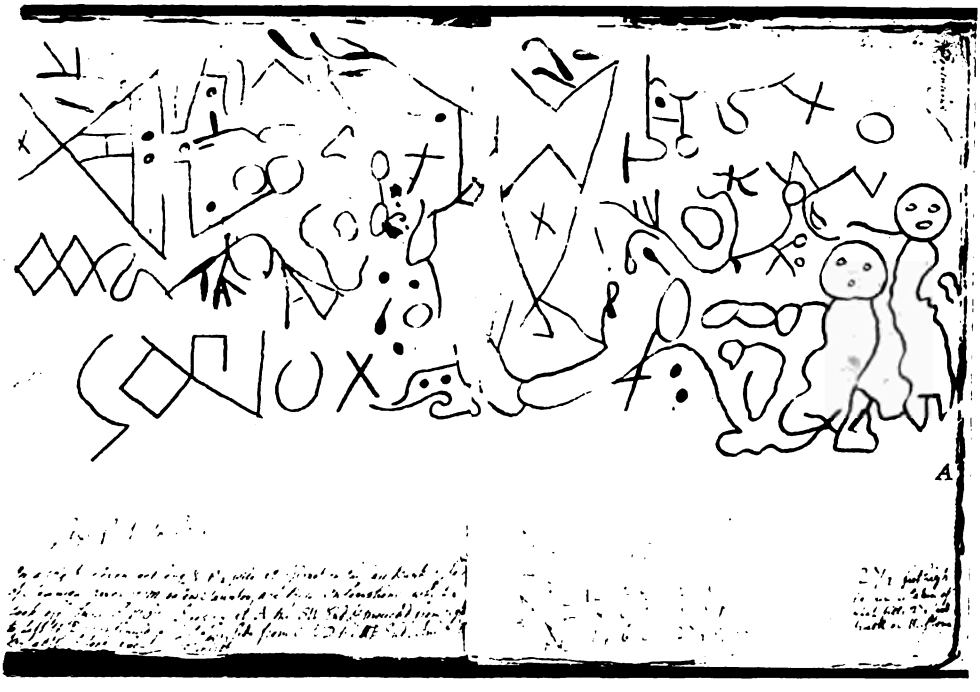
PLATE XIX



JUNE 6, 1767

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The Rock is a rusty Iron Coloured hard flinty Stone. The Letters or Lines are half to three Quarters of an Inch wide; & not a Tenth of an Inch deep — being picked in a hard reddish or tawny Crust of the Rock a quarter Inch thick. The Range of the face of the Rock is one p[t] nearer East than NE — ie NE by E. Tide generally covers half its Height.[1]

On the north end (not the face) of the rock Dr. Stiles detected some further faint marks, "said to be done 30 years ago, some said 12." He draws them as dotted lines, to indicate their faintness and uncertainty, making them look much like the letters "I HOWOO," with three U-like curves underneath. These characters I have seen referred to by only one other observer of the rock.[2] Yet they are still there, very faint, observable only in an exceptionally favorable light, marked rather by a slight difference in color than by indentation, but nevertheless as surely artificial as are the markings on the face. I saw them myself in the summer of 1915 without knowing that they had been discovered before, and copied them in a manner which closely resembles Stiles's depiction, including all his lines and some additional ones. They seem to me, for reasons that I stated in my earlier paper,[3] to supply the most decisive evidence we have in support of the belief that no great antiquity needs to be assumed for the characters on the face of the rock.

"No other stones within rods except a flat one on the shore within a few feet" of the Writing Rock. It has two marks in one corner, which Stiles shows as somewhat resembling an X and an R. This slab seems to have given rise to various tales of another elaborately carved rock near the Dighton Rock, which we shall find discussed and disposed of by Kendall, in 1807.[4]

[1] This paragraph and the one given below are not quoted in the exact order of words and sentences, but are compilations from scattered passages. This, and the fact that many statements are made by Stiles twice in slightly differing language, explains why the wording given here differs from that of corresponding passages in the published Itineraries.

[2] Edward Everett Hale wrote in his Diary, under date of July 31, 1839: "There is an inscription on the North end of the rock made this or last year by some wanderer who hoped to deceive future antiquarians, I suppose. H and W figure in it." I am indebted to Professor Edward E. Hale of Union College for this fact. Why Mr. Hale should have been so misinformed as to the recent origin of the marks is not clear. Possibly Dr. Stiles's information may have been similarly untrustworthy. Cf. p. 95, below.

[3] Publications of this Society, xviii. 239 note 1.

[4] See p. 112, below.

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A map of the road from Taunton,[1] a few drawings of some separate figures on the rock, and a mention of the previously made drawings by Mather, Greenwood, and Berkeley,[2] complete Stiles's notes on this occasion. On the 15th of June he wrote a letter from Newport to Professor John Winthrop of Harvard, telling of this visit; asking for a copy of the Greenwood drawing; and expressing the following opinion: "It is not a Vermiculation or Lusus Naturae, but a Work of Art, and I believe of Great Antiquity, perhaps up to the phoenician Ages: but I believe it never will be interpreted."

On July 13 and 14, 1767, Dr. Stiles made another journey of 26 miles to the Writing Rock. On the 14th he arrived at Edward Shove's, and visited the rock at 5.30 P. M. On July 15, —

at VI^h Morn^g I was at the Rock — Flood & 1 ft. high. So only washed & skrubbed the Rock with a Broom, & took off a few Characters. . . . From II^h to IV^h I chalked the Characters, & took off some in full Dimensions.[3] Then struck the foot partition Lines — & try^g my cartridge paper was discouraged with my first Scheme. And perceiv^g the Tide return, I applyd myself & took the Copy on the other side [of the sheet on which he was writing, — the drawing of July 15 reproduced in Plate XX], which I did in about two Hours or before sunset. Next Morning I went & took another Copy on a larger Scale, but without Comparisons, or alteration upon Comparison. At X set out from Mr. Shoves for Home.

Besides one of the two drawings of the inscription, Stiles's notes on this occasion include another map of the road from Taunton, a drawing showing the location of the cracks on the rock, and a chart of the shore and rocks in the vicinity of the Writing Rock.

It is worthy of note that on both of these visits Stiles followed the usual practice of first chalking the characters on the rock before making his drawing. In our later discussion of Kendall we shall find this practice condemned as a means of securing a truthful copy.[4] In addition to the three drawings that he completed, he apparently

[1] On this map, the name Assonet as applied to the Neck (but not to the Bay or River) is spelled Wassonet. It is interesting to note that the same spelling occurs in the Old Proprietary Records of Taunton, Book 4, p. 230 (1683), and in the Land Records at Taunton, Book 3, p. 390 (1683 and 1691).

[2] Portions of the letter and of the Itinerary were quoted in my earlier paper (p. 270), to show that Stiles learned of the visits of Greenwood and of Berkeley from Benjamin Jones, aged 70, owner of the Rock.

[3] Now owned by the American Academy. [4] See pp. 112–113, cf. p. 80, below.

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was the first person who attempted to secure the characters "in full Dimensions," using cartridge paper in some manner not specified, perhaps to obtain a direct impression. It is possible that his failure in this was what led him to induce Elisha Paddack to secure a copy in this manner a month later. Before describing that incident, however, we must first examine Stiles's own drawings.

There are three of these, as his notes imply, besides some detached fragments. That of June 6th occupies four pages of the Itinerary, each measuring about 6⅛ by 7⅝ inches. Placed together, therefore, as Plate XIX shows it, the whole drawing measures about 7⅝ by 24½. The right and left halves are drawn on somewhat differing scales, and are evidently not designed to fit onto one another perfectly. They have lain folded against one another so long in the Itinerary that a few of the marks on each are merely blots derived from heavily inked portions of the other side. On them Stiles wrote a number of indications of dimensions, and a few descriptive remarks. Some of these are so faint in the reproduction that I transscribe them all in a footnote.[1]

The drawing of July 15 (Plate XX) is also in the Itinerary, where it covers two pages, and therefore measures about 7⅝ by 12¼ inches. It attempts to indicate the relative breadth of the lines; shows the position of a few of the natural cracks in the rock by dotted lines; and gives marginal indications of the dimensions in feet.

[1] "Taken off June 6, 1767" (in the upper left-hand corner). "Here is taken above half but not Two Thirds of the Inscription." "On a Rock eleven feet long & 4½ wide at Assonet on the East Bank or Shore of Taunton River 7 m. below Taunton, are these Inscriptions; which I took off June 6. 1767. I begun at A the SW End, & proceeded from right to left to B; continued on the other side from C to D the NE End. And as to Breadth I took about Two Thirds." "Beginning." "Continuation." "End." Twice the word "Deest." In the upper right-hand corner, again the date, "June 6, 1767." The "Deest" evidently means: "There is nothing here." The dimensions indicated are these: of the left margin of the rock, "Two feet;" of the left-hand sheet, "Four feet this side;" of the right-hand sheet, "Six feet to here;" in the lower right-hand corner, "2½ feet high ie. here is taken off what fills 2½ feet breadth on the stone;" of the head of the human figure near the left end, "8 × 7 Ins;" of the tall figure in the middle of the right-hand sheet, "22 Inch by 7;" of the double triangular figure in the upper left-hand corner of the right-hand sheet, with the letters c (above) and d (below) indicating its left vertical line, e and f its middle vertical, a and b its broken right vertical, and h and i its opening at the right end, "12 ab, 8 cd, 14 bc, 12 ad, 9 ef, 2½ open^{g} hi." The pages 275 and 277 of the Itinerary are also indicated.

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The drawing of July 16th (Plate XXI), being made on a larger scale, is not in the Itinerary. It is on two sheets of paper pasted together, measuring together 12⅞ by 31¼ inches, the drawing itself being about 9 by 23 inches. On the back is a carefully executed separate drawing (Plate XXI) of one of the groups of figures, 4 by 6½ inches in size. The main drawing, like that of the day before, indicates the breadth of the lines on the rock, but contains no marks of dimension. The separate figure, however, is divided by dotted lines into squares corresponding in numbering to the indications of dimensions in feet as given on the drawing of the 15th. In one corner of the face is written: "Characters on the Writing Rock, whose Incisions were obvious & unquestionable decyphered July 16, 1767. Given to Yale College Museum / Ezra Stiles / 1788;" and on the back: "Dighton Writing Rock said to consist of Punic or Carthaginian Characters." The drawing is now in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The three drawings are in some respects so unlike as to show little indication of having been made by the same hand. Other features, however, especially the representations of human beings and the triangular figures, which are presented in an essentially like manner by nearly every one who has ever copied the inscription, are naturally nearly alike in these. The figure usually drawn as a quadruped bears no resemblance to its usual manner of depiction on the first drawing, but slight resemblance on the second, and is lacking on the third. In view of later importance attached to them, it is particularly interesting to compare together the two lines of characters near the centre of the inscription which contain some resemblance to letters of the alphabet. Besides irregular marks possessing no such resemblance, the upper line includes shapes somewhat like XXXIM on June 6, XXX only on July 15, XXXIN on July 16, and cXXXIM in the drawing on the back of the latter. Calling the diamond-shaped character an O, and neglecting irregular curves, the lower line can be best likened to O . . OX on June 6, y7X on July 15, and OnΠX on July 16. As a whole, the June drawing is very dissimilar to the two of July; yet a distinct individuality of style is perceptible in them all. That of July 16 is very similar to the one of the day before, being based on the same chalking; but it contains fewer figures, the omissions being mainly, but not wholly, in the

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lower part. It appears more carefully and accurately drawn than the others, and impresses me as the best one that Stiles made, though not the most complete.

One significance of these drawings is that they are the earliest that show the entire sculptured surface of the rock in a serious manner. Danforth's gave less than half. Mather's "second line" was published upside-down, and hence has hitherto been valueless; and even in its correct position it is seen to be ill-drawn and badly distorted. Greenwood's drawing went only a little beyond Danforth's. These of 1767 show, as Stiles says, about two-thirds of the face of the rock; but this is, nevertheless, the whole surface so far as any artificial characters can be discovered on it. No one has ever given more than these drawings include, except perhaps for a few single figures that some have claimed to discover where others have seen little or nothing.

Elisha Paddack, 1767; Further concerning Dr. Stiles

That Stiles was not content with his drawings and still wished, after his own unsuccessful attempt, to secure a full-size direct impression of the characters themselves, is shown by a letter written to him on August 15, 1767, by Elisha Paddack of Swansey. The letter is preserved with the Stiles papers in the Yale Library, and has never before been mentioned in the literature of Dighton Rock. The letter describes the use of a new method, similar to the one adopted twenty-one years later by James Winthrop in making his well-known copy of the inscription.[1] Paddack writes:

> According to your desire I have been to the Phœnitian rock and taken off some of the figures as big as the life, I was obliged to go twice before I could finish it, when I first went there I attempted to take off one with a pencil, but I found the task so difficult to perform with any exactness that I was forced to give it over.
>
> The next day I went again in company with one of the neighbours, M[r] John Hudson, we took some Ink and flour, and stirred it together into a sort of past, with which we filled up all the marks we could discover belonging to a figure, we then laid on the paper and squeesed it till it had receiv'd the colure of the past [paste], by this means they are taken off in their full dimentions, but their situations being opposite to

[1] On August 13, 1788: see pp. 77 ff, below.

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what they were on the rock, I prick'd them off again upon new paper which I have sent you. . . .[1]

One small figure from this copy, 3½ by 5½ inches, somewhat resembling a figure 8, is stitched into Stiles's manuscript Itinerary. What appears to be the main drawing, about 26 by 42 inches, is in possession of the American Academy at Boston.[2] On the 7th of January, 1768, Paddack wrote again to Stiles, and suggested that one of the figures at the south end of the rock (shown at the right end in all the drawings) was meant to represent the "Phenitian God Dagon that we read of in the old Testament," whom the Rev. Mr. West had described to him as customarily drawn in the form of a half-man and half-fish.

When Du Simitière visited Dr. Stiles in Newport in 1768, the latter showed him one or more of the drawings made by himself and Paddack. In the unpublished manuscript that I quoted in my earlier discussions of Berkeley and of Smibert,[3] Du Simitière remarks, of the characters on the rock as Mather depicted them: "They are also totally different from the copy taken by Dr. Stiles of New Port;" and he says further:

When I was in New Port, Rhode Island in June 1768,[4] the rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles shewed me a copy of the above inscription taken with exactness of the same size of the original on several sheets of paper pasted together,[5] as also the drawings of some more rocks which the D[r] said, he had discovered in several parts of this Island, having unknown characters engraven on them, but not so many as on the rock at Taunton. this gentleman has been indefatigable in his enquiries, on those supposed inscriptions, which are by him thought to be of great antiquity, and to be composed of non alphabetical Characters mixed with hieroglyphics.[6]

This is the only mention, so far as I know, of these drawings by Stiles, except that occurring in his Diary (published in 1901) and in

[1] Unquoted portions of the letter show that Paddack did not take an impression of all the figures.

[2] It depicts the two human figures and the "N" at the right end of the rock, and the collection of triangular figures to the right of the centre. It is in a badly worn and torn condition.

[3] Publications of this Society, xviii. 267, 272.

[4] Stiles mentions this visit in his Itinerary under date of June 6, 1768.

[5] This was doubtless the Paddack copy.

[6] From the transcript of Du Simitière's manuscript made for Mr. F. L. Gay.

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the notes by its editor; and the following by his son-in-law, Abiel Holmes,[1] in a reference to the year 1766:[2] "This year he copied, for the first time, the curious Inscription on a rock in Dighton, which has baffled the attempts of the Antiquarians of America, and of Europe, to decypher to entire satisfaction. It was his opinion, that the character is Punic."[3]

It is interesting also to note that Du Simitière speaks of drawings of other inscribed rocks made by Stiles. It is well known that Dr. Stiles was greatly interested in all such inscriptions, and made drawings of several, in Rhode Island and elsewhere. His Itinerary records a number of such visits. Of a rock in Kent "on Housatunnuk River near Scattikuk," he remarks: "The manner of Inscription is like that of the Dighton Rock" (October 8, 1789). He visited and copied "marked Rocks" in Tiverton and in Portsmouth, on Narragansett Bay, on June 17 and October 6, 1767, June 7, 1768, September 29 and October 6, 1788. The drawings of 1767 and 1768 are preserved in the Itinerary. The Portsmouth and Tiverton rocks were again pictured in 1835 by John R. Bartlett, aided by Thomas H. Webb, and their drawings were published in 1837 in the Antiquitates Americanæ. They differ considerably from the ones made by Stiles, as we would naturally expect after discovering how very unlike are the different drawings of Dighton Rock.

Stephen Sewall, 1768

We leave Dr. Stiles for the present, to consider other events that occurred before he again appears in our history. Stephen Sewall (or Sewell as he is known in all Dighton Rock literature, though not in the Harvard University official lists), Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages at Harvard College, appointed to that position in 1764, made a life-size drawing of the rock on September 13, 1768. The interest of members of the Royal Society seems to have been thoroughly aroused by Mather's communication of 1712 and by Greenwood's of 1730, although fully satisfied by neither. It

[1] Life of Ezra Stiles, 1798, p. 119.

[2] This is an error for 1767; but it is an error that Stiles himself made in his Diary on Oct. 3, 1788.

[3] This opinion was expressed by Stiles in his Itinerary in 1767, and in his Sermon of 1783, as we shall see; but he expressed doubts about it in his Diary in 1782.

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was probably the same Mr. John Eames, F.R.S.,[1] who had induced Greenwood to make the drawing of 1730, who was indirectly responsible for this new one by Sewall. These circumstances are most fully related by Lort,[2] who found a brief abstract of them in the Minutes of the Royal Society for the year 1775, and then was "favored with a sight of the whole paper by Timothy Hollis, Esq." Lort tells us that "some years since the late Mr. Eames applied to Mr. Timothy Hollis, to write to Mr. Winthrope . . . at the desire of a gentleman at Berlin . . . to procure a more accurate copy." No answer was received at that time, but the matter was reopened in the summer of 1774, when "Mr. Winthrope" wrote to Mr. Hollis, and enclosed a copy of the drawing by Sewall.

He says that the original drawing is of the same size as the inscription itself, and "is now deposited in our Museum;" and that the copy sent was reduced from Sewall's original. He believes that it is the "most exact copy" of the rock that was ever taken. This "Mr. Winthrope" was Professor John Winthrop, Greenwood's successor at Harvard College. His own opinions of the rock, as further disclosed in this letter, will be reserved for later consideration.

Of the further details of the making of this drawing and of Sewall's opinions concerning the inscription, we know through Professor Sewall himself. In 1781 he sent a copy to M. Court de Gebelin of Paris, accompanied by a letter which Gebelin reproduces in part in the eighth volume of his Monde Primitif, issued in 1781. I translate the letter from this source.

On the 13th of September, 1768, Stephen Sewall and Thomas Danforth, assisted by William Baylies, Seth Williams, and David Cobb,[3]

[1] See Publications of this Society, xviii. 283. Mr. Eames died in 1744. The "some years since" mentioned below must therefore have been at about the time when John Winthrop made his "imperfect copy."

[2] Rev. Michael Lort, in Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 295.

[3] Of these men who assisted Sewall I gather the following facts, among others, mainly from Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography:

Thomas Danforth was a grandson of the Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester (who made the first drawing of Dighton Rock). Born about 1742, graduated Harvard 1762; studied law and became a councillor in Charlestown; left for Halifax in 1776, and later lived in England, where he died 1820.

William Baylies, physician, born in Uxbridge November 24, 1743, graduated Harvard 1760; studied medicine, and settled in Dighton; held various political offices; one of the founders of the Massachusetts Medical Society; fellow of

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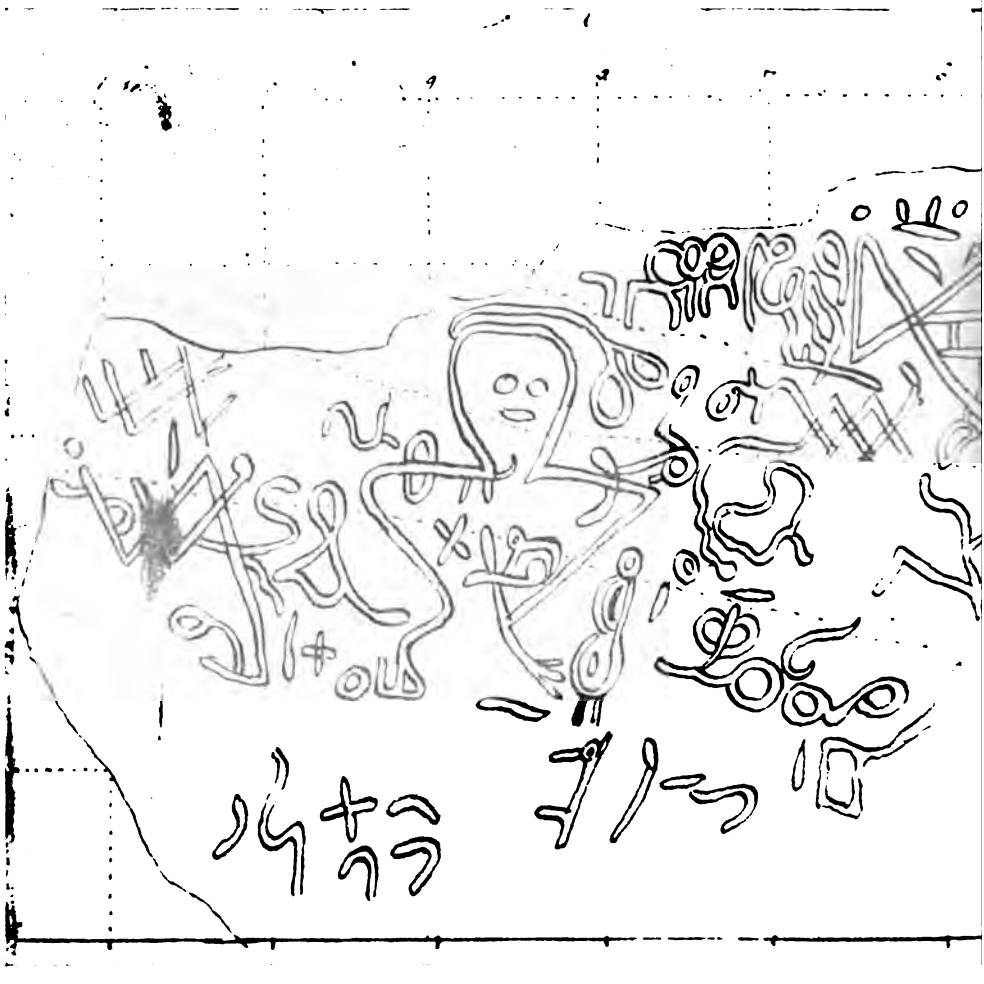

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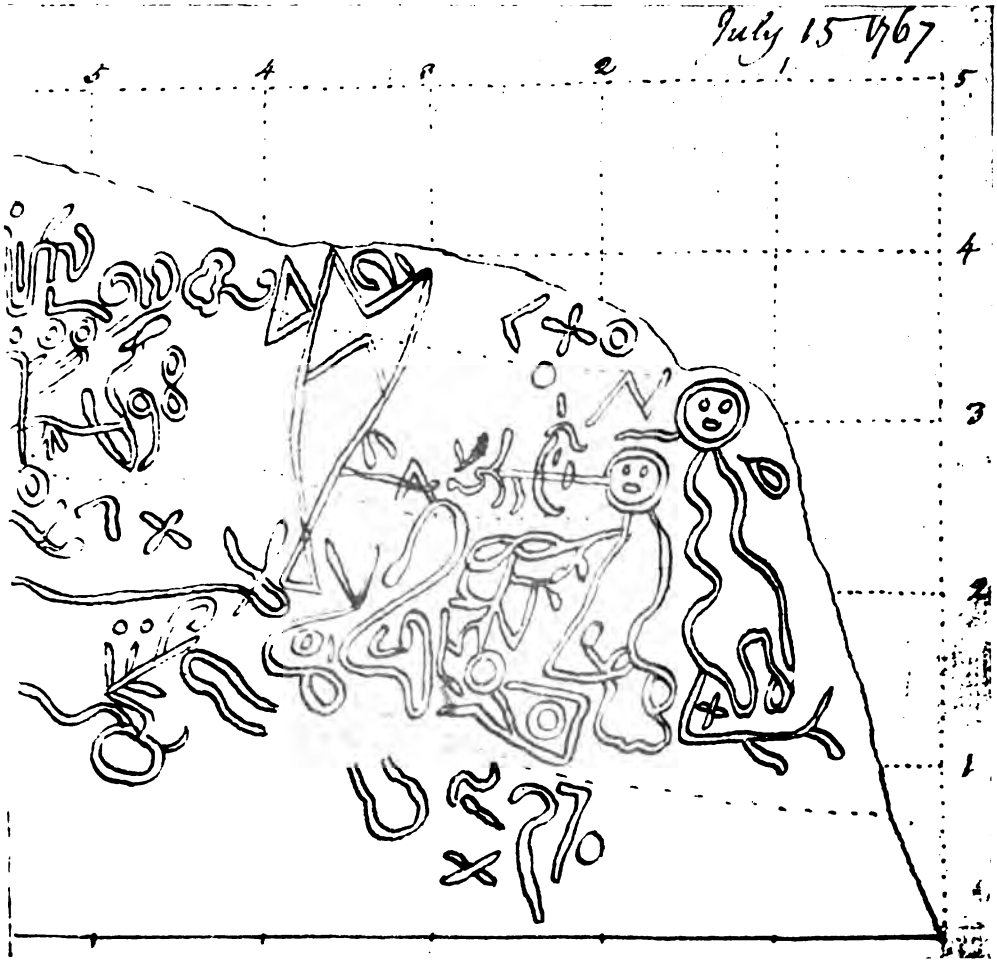

3. JULY 15, 1767

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made a copy of the Dighton Rock inscription. The rock is situated on the easterly bank of Taunton [1] River, forty or fifty miles south of Boston. It is partly covered at high tide. It is eleven feet long, and four feet in height above the level of the water. The level of the beach seems to have risen and to have covered a considerable part of it. It is of a reddish color. Its plane face which contains the inscription is somewhat inclined toward the shore.[2] The inscription has attracted the attention of the curious for half a century. The convenience of the roadstead and the facility of navigating the river up to this point encourage the belief that it is the work of Phœnicians who were driven hither from the shores of Europe. Others judge that the inscription is hieroglyphic rather than in alphabetical characters, and that thus it may have been due to Chinese or Japanese navigators. . . . The greater part of the inscription is effaced to such a degree that it is no longer possible to distinguish any characters in these portions of it.

The opinion that the Phœnicians were the carvers of the inscription we have found already recorded by Stiles in 1767. But Sewall's mention of it seems to be the first that found its way into print. The two facts that he cites as arguments in its support are too completely trivial for such service; but we must assume that the adherents of the view were confident also that there were Phœnician characters among the markings on the rock. This opinion was a welcome support to Gebelin's own speculations, and he adopted and elaborated it with minute detail. Sewall also seems to have been the first to speak of the existence of a theory that Chinese or Japanese were the authors of the writings. He does not say that he himself accepts either of the views that he mentions.

But besides this rather non-committal opinion written to Gebelin about 1781, we have two positive statements by Sewall which show that he was strongly inclined to attribute the inscription to the In-

the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; died in Dighton 1826. For several years he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Bristol.

David Cobb, born 1748, graduated Harvard 1766; studied medicine in Boston, and practised in Taunton for many years; an army officer, judge, general of militia, congressman, lieutenant-governor, etc.; died at Taunton 1830.

[1] Gebelin spells this name "Jaunston."

[2] "Sur le rivage." Sewall's own words, as written on his drawing (see below) were: "inclines a little from a perpendicular." He also wrote "of a scarlet hue" instead of "d'une couleur rouge;" and "for nearly a century past," instead of "depuis un demi-siècle."

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dians. On the drawing itself, as we are about to see, he, or some one else using his words, wrote: "I imagine it to be the work of the Indians of North America, done rather for amusement than (for any serious purpose)." And in a letter of January 13th, 1769, now among the Stiles papers in the Yale Library, he wrote to Stiles as follows:

For my part, I confess I have no faith in the significancy of the characters. There is indeed in some of the figures an appearance of design: — I mean that some of the figures seem to be representations of some things that the engraver previously had in his mind; for instance, of human faces, & bodies, &c. But the strokes in general appear to me to be drawn at random: So that I cannot but think the whole to be a mere *lusus Indorum.*

Sewall's was the first complete drawing of the characters which was published, and, with the possible exception of the unpreserved attempts by Stiles and by Paddack, the first one of the full size of the face of the rock. His original drawing is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, and is here for the first time accurately reproduced.[1] A label on the outside reads: "Transferred by a vote of the Corporation to the Peabody Museum. Delivered Ap. 23. 80. Justin Winsor." To the face of the drawing is attached a paper containing the following remarks:

Inscription on Dighton Rock.

This copy of the inscription on Dighton Rock was made about the year 1768 by the learned Stephen Sewell, Librarian and Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages. It was put on cloth and framed, and was in the Mineral Room of Harvard Hall. It was a long time before I knew what became of it. My suspicions being excited at last, I took a lantern and with the college janitor went into the

[1] Plate XXII. On account of the large size of the original, it was first reproduced in three parts by Albert H. Moore, photographer at the Harvard College Library, in the form of photostatic negatives. The three parts were then skilfully joined, mounted on cloth, and photographed by Mr. E. A. Dean, an expert photographer of Providence. The resulting photograph of the complete photostatic negative was then used by Mr. Joseph W. McCoid, photostatist of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, for securing the photostatic positive from which this plate was made. I desire to express my obligations to these persons for their careful work, as well as to Mr. George Parker Winship, Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection, who assisted in this undertaking, and who has been helpful in many other ways in this research.

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garret of Harvard Hall, where, after much searching among bottles, boxes, mineral cases, and trumpery, I found it mutilated, and with the frame broken, jammed away under the eaves. I sent it to Mr. Flattich, a German in Boston, who according to my instructions, put it into its present shape for four dollars and returned it 21 January 1860. *This* copy of the inscription is noticed in volume second, part second, p. 127, of the Memoirs of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

John Langdon Sibley, Librarian.

Either in this restoration or in the earlier mounting, the drawing was cut into uniform rectangles measuring 12 by 18 inches, and mounted on cloth with narrow spaces between the sections. The original paper, now very old and fragile, was evidently approaching this condition in 1860, for in several places small pieces of paper were pasted over the original, to hold it together. One of these, in the upper right-hand corner, about half covers a rectangular space of about 6 by 7 inches, now stained a uniform black that shows no indication that there was ever any writing there. Yet this space once contained Professor Sewall's own description, probably in the exact words already quoted as having been sent to Gebelin in 1781. From unpublished evidence it is possible to restore it practically in its entirety. In 1834 Dr. Thomas H. Webb wrote to Christopher Dunkin, instructor in Greek at Harvard College, as follows: "In the Hall of your University occupied by the Cabinet of Minerals, there is fastened over the entrance door a drawing of the Dighton Writing Rock taken some years since by the late Prof. Sewall. Of this I wish a copy on a reduced scale. . . . On one corner of Prof. S. drawing were written some remarks which are now illegible." After some further correspondence, Mr. Dunkin sent the desired copy on November 17th, remarking that he had entrusted the commission to "one of our students a Mr. Hale." [1] The copy is carefully executed, and is accompanied by the following note:

[1] There were then in college two students named Hale — Horatio, who entered August 30, 1833, and graduated in 1837; and Nathan, who entered September 1, 1834, and graduated in 1838. The latter's younger brother, Edward Everett Hale, did not enter until 1835. Edward was later much interested in Dighton Rock; but his son informs me that there is no record that Nathan (if it was he who made the copy) ever gave any further attention to it. Though Horatio Hale did not, so far as is known, write on Dighton Rock, yet he was early interested in the Indians, and while yet an undergraduate was appointed

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The writing in the right hand corner is in many places so entirely obliterated by time, that it cannot be restored. The remainder, with a few necessary interpolations, will read as follows: —

. . . September 13th 1768 . . . assisted by . . . David Cobb . . .
The Rock is situated on the eastern side of Taunton river, . . . The river covers it at high water. It is [six?] feet [deep?] & four feet high above the —. . . . It is of a scarlet hue, & has a plane face, . . . inclines a little from the perpendicular.
[The inscription on this rock hath engaged the attention . . . for nearly a century past. . . . some imagine it to be . . . from Europe; others judge it to be rather hieroglyphical than literal [derived from] China or Japan! . . . [I] imagine it to be [the work of] the Indians of North America, done rather for amusement than . . . willing to be disabused of this opinion, if . . .[1]

Except for the last sentence, these statements are clearly exactly the same as those which were sent to Gebelin, and the passages which Hale found illegible in 1834 can be supplied from that source.

The first published reproduction of a copy of Sewall's drawing was made in 1781 by Gebelin, who "caused it to be engraved with the greatest exactitude."[2] The copy sent over by Winthrop and preserved by the Royal Society was reproduced by Lort in 1787 in Archaeologia. From these two sources, probably, all later reproductions have been derived. Our plates reproduce, not only the original, but the two copies just mentioned, another made after Gebelin by Dammartin in 1838, the one by Rafn in Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, probably derived from Lort's, and the more recent one by Mallery, derived from that by Rafn.[3] These six presentations resemble one another closely, of course; but they also differ, each one from the others, in many individual particulars. The especial interest in exhibiting so many different forms of the same drawing lies partly in the fact that some of them were made the basis of particular theories whose aptness depended to some degree on the particular copy used; but even more in illustrating, as do also the variants of the Danforth, the Mather, and the Greenwood drawings, that no free-hand drawing can be made exactly like

philologist to the South Sea Exploring Expedition: cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 67–68.

[1] The letters and drawing can be found in vol. ii of Correspondence & Reports (MS), Rhode Island Historical Society, pages 22, 25, 27, 32, 23.

[2] Monde Primitif, 1781, viii. 13. See Plate XXIII.

[3] See Plates II (Mallery), XXII (Sewall), XXIII (Gebelin), XXII (Lort), XXIII (Dammartin), and XXXI (Rafn).

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its original, that it diverges more in proportion to the lack of artistic skill, the want of a feeling for scientific accuracy, or the degree to which a theory of interpretation may exert a bias in the mind of the copyist. Doubtless other conclusions as to the psychology of copying will result from further study, just as many inferences as to the psychology of the different ways in which the same object is seen by different persons may be based on a comparison of the many differing original drawings. But these matters do not find an appropriate place, except as passing suggestions, in this historical survey.

There seems at first sight some disparity of statement as to where Sewall's drawing was kept. Winthrop in 1774 speaks of it as in the "Museum;" Webb in 1834 as hanging over the entrance door in the "Hall occupied by the Cabinet of Minerals;" Sibley in 1860 as in the "Mineral Room of Harvard Hall." Some, I think, have spoken of Sewall's as well as of James Winthrop's as being in the "Library;" and in 1880 it was transferred from the charge of the Librarian to the Peabody Museum. These apparently various localities, however, were doubtless actually one and the same, and identical with the "Musæum" established by vote of the Corporation on August 1, 1769:

A Room set apart for a Musæum.

6. Voted that the Apartment [1] on the North side of the entrance to the Philosophy Chamber be a Musæum for the reception of Curiosities belonging to the College, to be in the care of the Librarian, who shall take a catalogue of them in a book and keep the Key; and no person shall be admitted there, but by the Librarian or his Substitute.[2]

The Philosophy Chamber was in the present Harvard Hall, which stands on the site of the second Harvard College, burned in January, 1764. The catalogue referred to in the vote cannot now be discovered.

I surmise that it is this fact, that the drawing was kept "in the Mineral Room of Harvard Hall," together with some later misstatements, which has led to the legend that there was a *cast* of the

[1] The exact position of this apartment about 1764 will be seen by consulting the "Plan of Harvard Hall built in 1764," made by Du Simitière and reproduced facing p. 16 of vol. xiv of the Publications of this Society.

[2] College Book viii. 191. I am indebted to Mr. Matthews for this transcript of the vote of the Corporation, as well as for material used in many of my notes.

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rock at Harvard. There is a "plaster contact facsimile" in the Gilbert Museum at Amherst College, made by Professor Lucien I. Blake in 1876. There are statements that one or two other casts were in existence. The first one that I have seen occurs in an unsigned review, written by J. Elliot Cabot in 1849: "There is a facsimile cast in the Geological collection at Cambridge." [1] In 1862 Daniel Wilson claimed [2] that "at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held at Albany in 1856," he "had an opportunity of inspecting a cast of the Dighton Rock;" and in his best humorous (or shall we rather say, flippant) manner proceeded to ridicule it. But apparently Wilson's prejudiced eyes deceived him as much as he thought that the prejudiced eyes of the copyists of Dighton Rock had deceived them. What he saw was "some casts in plaster of a supposed Runic inscription, which appears upon a ledge of hornblende on the island of Monhegan, off the coast of Maine;" for these were exhibited at the meeting in question, and there is no evidence that any other casts were shown.[3] It is doubtless from this mistaken source that was derived the statement, with an error in date, made by Justin Winsor in 1889,[4] to the effect that a cast was shown at the Albany meeting of the A.A.A.S. in 1836. Cabot, therefore, remains sole authority for the existence of another cast than that at Amherst.[5] Instead of a cast "in the geological collection," it may well be that what was meant was either this drawing by Sewall "in the Mineral Hall" or "Museum," or perhaps the paper-and-paint direct impression from the rock, made by James Winthrop in 1788, shortly to be described.

[1] Discovery of America by the Norsemen, Massachusetts Quarterly Review, 1849, ii. 209.

[2] Prehistoric Man, ii. 177.

[3] Dr. A. C. Hamlin, Supposed Runic Inscriptions, Proceedings A.A.A.S., 10th Meeting, Albany, August 1856, pp. 214–215.

[4] Narrative and Critical History of America, i. 101 note. The first meeting of the A.A.A.S. was held in 1848.

[5] Another was attempted, however. A writer in the North American Review, 1874, cxix. 175, says: "Dr. Hamlin endeavored to take a plaster cast of the Dighton Rock, and unfortunately failed." Other evidence makes it probable that this incident occurred not long before 1870. In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1867, p. 7, is a statement that "Prof. Wyman is about to take a plaster cast of the rock;" but if he ever tried to carry out this intention, as an enterprise distinct from the attempt by Hamlin, it too was a failure.

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The probability that there was no actual cast there is strongly supported by the results of an inquiry kindly made for me by Professor Kittredge, who writes (on April 1, 1915): "The Geologists know nothing of any cast of the rock. They tell me that our Professor Webster had a lot of miscellaneous stuff which his successor (J. P. Cooke) dumped into the rubbish heap — and they fear *this* was among it. At all events, they have never seen any such cast." There seems little question that Cabot's remark, as well as Daniel Wilson's bit of apparently supporting evidence, must take their place among the misstatements of fact of which we find so numerous examples in the literature of Dighton Rock.

Besides the opinion of John Winthrop, in 1774, that Sewall's was the "most exact copy" ever taken, we find it characterized in 1807 by Edward A. Kendall, himself an artist of no mean ability and a close student of the rock itself, as "the most faithful, though not the best executed," [1] of all the copies known to him.

John Winthrop's Letter, 1774

Reference has already been made to a letter by Professor John Winthrop written November 14, 1774, to Mr. Timothy Hollis, preserved in part in the Minutes of the Royal Society of 1775, but more fully quoted by Lort from the original. Besides speaking of Sewall's drawing, Winthrop also expresses some observations and opinions of his own. He says that "above thirty years ago" he visited the rock and made "an imperfect copy;" mentions Mather's account in the Philosophical Transactions; and describes the rock. "When I saw it last [in spring of 1774] the tide covered all but the upper part of it. According to the best of my remembrance, the characters do not appear so plain now as they did about thirty years ago." [2] Of

[1] Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 185.

[2] I suspect that this statement belongs in the same class with those so commonly heard to the effect that the climate is growing milder. It is interesting to discover that similar opinions were current two hundred years ago, and probably have been expressed by aging people in all the intervening time; so that, if true, we ought by now to be living under decidedly tropical conditions. Samuel Sewall, writing on February 5, 1691, remarked: "'Twould be a vain thing to goe about to dissemble the severity of our Winters; only most ancient inhabitants judge there is an abatement of their former rigor" (Publications of this Society, xiv. 154). Remarks like Winthrop's concerning the rock are still made to-day, and are probably not true except as psychological impressions (xviii. 238 f).

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the characters on the rock, he speaks only of the "four human figures, very rudely executed," and "some semblance of a quadruped with horns." He concludes: "Whether this was designed by the Indians as a memorial of any remarkable event, or was a mere *lusus* at their leisure hours, of which they have a great number, I cannot pretend to say. 'Tis certain it was done before the English settled in this country."[1]

John Winthrop has not infrequently been confused with his son James Winthrop by writers on Dighton Rock; and the letters, drawing, and title of the one have been attributed to the other. John was a professor, James was Librarian, at Harvard. The former made the "imperfect copy" of about 1744, and wrote the letter of 1774 which was printed in Archaeologia in 1787. James made a paper-and-paint impression of the rock in 1788, and in the same year wrote a letter which was published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1804 — facts that will later receive fuller discussion.[2]

PHŒNICIAN THEORY OF GEBELIN, 1781

The next event in our history was an important one, which had a far-reaching influence on subsequent opinion and discussion. In this respect it is comparable only to the announcement nearly sixty years later of the Norse theory by Professor Rafn. I refer to the publication in 1781 of a detailed Phœnician interpretation of the

[1] This last statement is, of course, a bare assertion of personal opinion, without evidential value.

[2] Before I had straightened out in my own mind this confusion of the two persons, Mr. Albert Matthews, in a letter of February 6, 1915, set me right about it, and gave me some of the following details.

John Winthrop, b. 1714, was son of Chief Justice Adam Winthrop; graduated at Harvard 1732; Hollis Professor of Mathematics 1738–1779; Fellow of the Royal Society; died 1779. Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography says that in the eighteenth century he was the foremost teacher of science in this country, and that his influence in determining the scientific spirit in America was great. See also Publications of this Society, vii. 321–328.

His son, James Winthrop, graduated Harvard 1769, was Librarian there 1772–1787; for several years was judge of the court of common pleas, and for a long time register of probate; died 1821. There is a sketch of him in A. C. Potter and C. K. Bolton's Librarians of Harvard University (Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 52, 1897).

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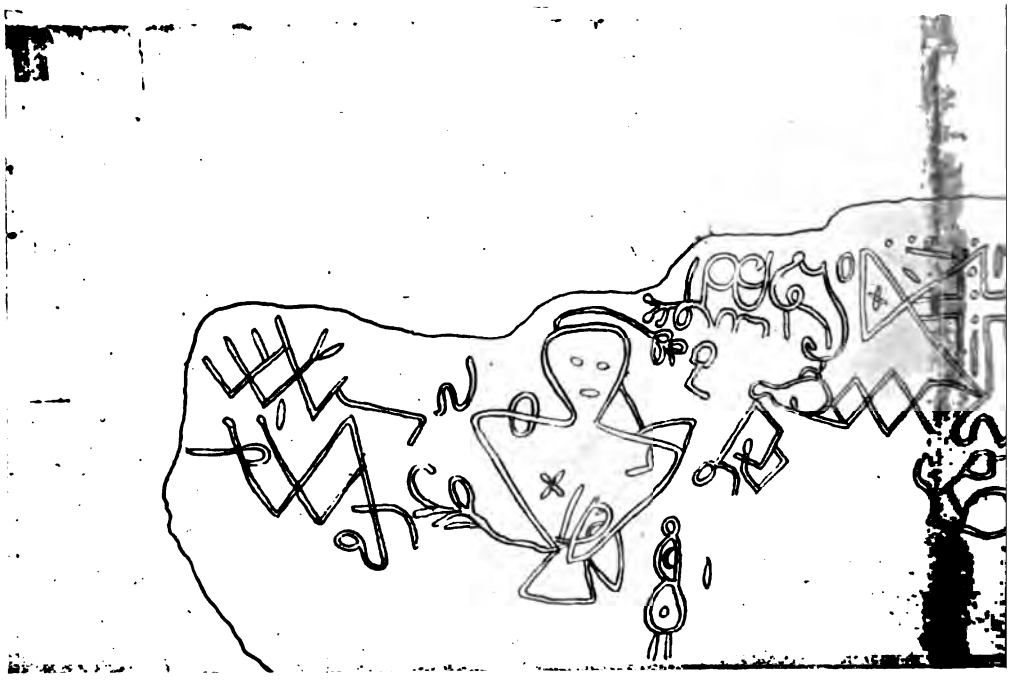

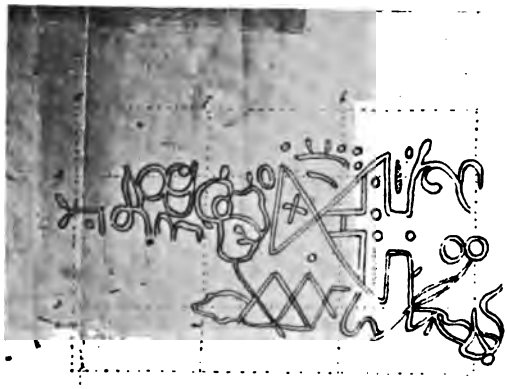

STILES'S DRAW

STILES'S DRAWING,

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE

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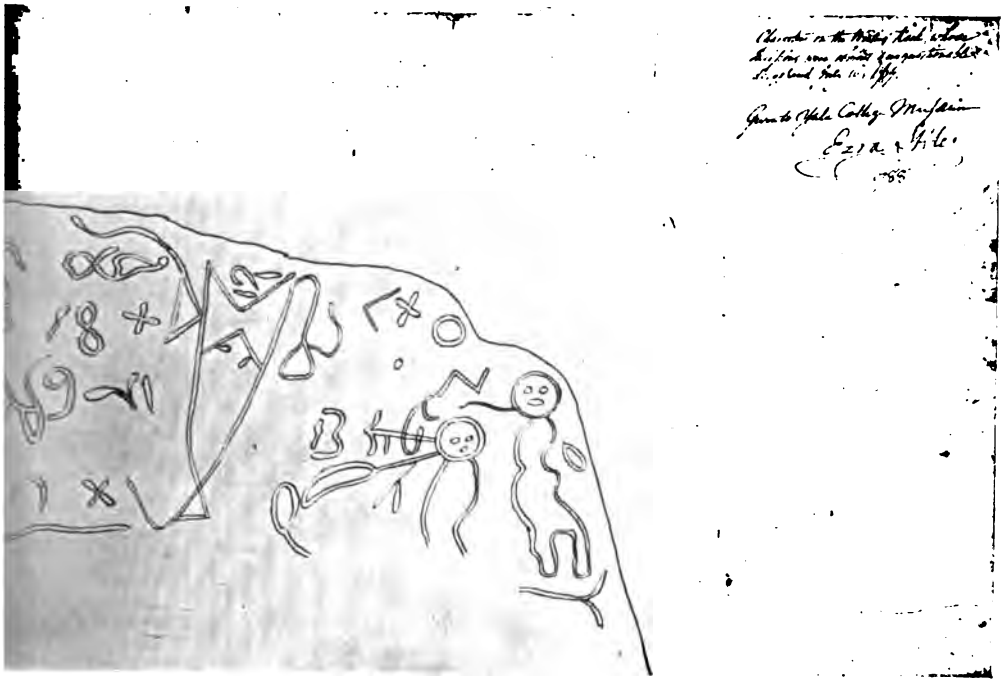

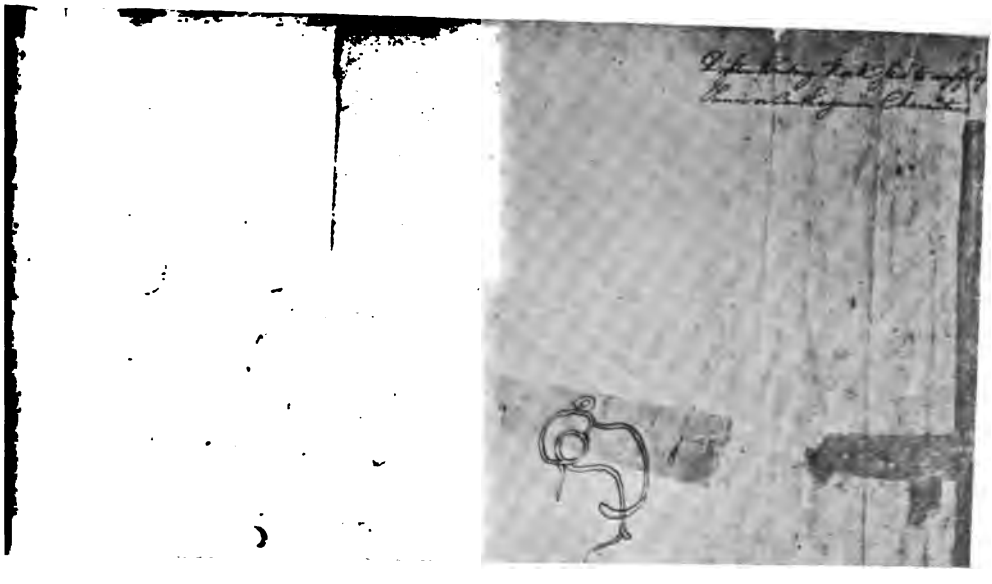

JULY 16, 1767

.Y 16, 1767, DORSE

IALS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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whole inscription by M. Court de Gebelin.[1] We have seen that Professor Sewall wrote to Gebelin at about this time, suggesting (though contrary to his own opinion) that the inscription may have been Phœnician, and enclosing a copy of his drawing. Gebelin was already engaged in the publication of his elaborate treatise on the Monde Primitif, and he eagerly included in his eighth volume[2] this new evidence in support of his belief that Phœnician navigators had sailed "boldly and gloriously" throughout the ancient world, even to America. He advanced many proofs of this view, which are of no particular interest in this discussion. But Dighton Rock supplied the most convincing one of them all.

His account is a long one, but many of his reflections and digressions can be omitted without detriment to an endeavor to follow in detail the interpretation that he gives to each of the figures. His reproduction of Sewall's drawing is given in Plate XXIII, and some of its figures are numbered, which will help in the identification of the parts under discussion. The following translation is not literal, since it condenses the original wherever feasible:

If we compare this remarkable monument with the inscriptions of Mount Horeb and of Mount Sinai, described by Kircher and by Pococke respectively, and with recently discovered Phœnician alphabets, we discover an astonishing resemblance which, added to other evidence at hand that the Natives in the vicinity of Boston at least are of Oriental race, makes it certain that the monument . . . was inscribed in very ancient times by Phœnicians, perhaps even by those of whom Diodorus speaks.

1. This monument is not the work of an American nation. The savants who sent us a copy believe that it was executed by a foreign nation, perhaps Chinese, Japanese, or even Phœnician.[3] It follows that

[1] He is described in Hoefer's Nouvelle Biographie Générale (xii. 216) as a "célèbre érudit français," b. 1725. He was the son of Antoine Court, but assumed the name Court de Gebelin in accordance with a common practice among Protestants of the time as a protection against persecution. His great work, defending the view that the practices of agriculture were the basis of mythology, was: Le Monde Primitif, analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne, 9 vols., Paris, 1775–1784. He died under the care of Mesmer in 1784, with his work still unfinished.

[2] 1781, viii. 58, 59, 560–568; and Planche I.

[3] We have already seen that Sewall, who sent the copy, merely quoted but did not accept these opinions, and did believe that it was executed by Indians.

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America offers nothing analogous in the pictures that the Indians make on trees and rocks. Moreover, the known Indian pictures include nothing that approaches these alphabetical characters, and the Indians possessed no such characters. Finally and decisively, the monument depicts objects unknown in America.

2. The monument is divided into three unmistakable scenes, one representing a past, another a present, and the third a future event.

First Scene. — At the right are four figures which turn their backs on the scene representing the present. They clearly relate to a past event. Their nature indicates that those who engraved them were Phœnician navigators, either from Tyre or from Carthage. The figure to the right of 15 is Priapus, god of fecundity, father of fruits. He cannot be mistaken. He indicates the country whence come these bold navigators, — a country of prosperity and abundance. The second figure (to the left of 15) is an owl, symbol of Minerva, Isis or Astarte, goddess of wisdom and of the arts. It indicates the superiority in the arts and the skill in navigation of the nation of these newly landed sailors. The next figure, a little to the left and lower down, is the head of a sparrow-hawk, with a kind of mantle over its shoulders. It symbolizes persons who have come by sea. Among the Egyptians and Phœnicians, the sparrow-hawk was an emblem of the winds, especially of the north wind, which is necessary in order to pass from Europe to America. Figure 14, which terminates this group, is unmistakably the little Telesphore, divinity of a happy outcome. He is wrapped in a sleeveless mantle, and covered with his hood. He shows that the voyage has met with the greatest success.

Second Scene. — This represents the present, and for this reason is placed in the middle of the picture. Its essential objects are two animals that face one another, armed with banners and streamers that float in the wind. One represents the foreign nation, the other the American. The former is a horse, at rest in a kneeling position; the other a beaver, recognizable by its long flat tail.[1] Their good accord proves the intelli-

[1] Gebelin does not mention the numbers on the drawing which identify these two animals. It is clear that the beaver is no. 10. The horse is much more difficult to see. Some have denied its existence, and that of some other figures, except in the imagination of Gebelin (see, for example, Gabriel Gravier, Notice sur le roc de Dighton, Nancy, 1875, p. 8). But a sympathetic exercise of the faculty which discovers camels and whales in the clouds, can detect the rudely drawn animal of Gebelin's fancy. I think its head is to be found directly above the number 11, with blunt curved muzzle, eye in the highest dot above and to the right of 11, and ears represented by the triangle next to the right of that; the fore legs go down to the head of the beaver; the curved line above the fattest dot near-by

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gence of the two nations, and the favorable reception given to the strangers.

The horse, and particularly the head of this proud animal, was the symbol of Carthage, as a maritime city, situated in a fertile and fruitful land. The horse was also a symbol of Neptune, of navigation, and of ships. This horse moreover has the air of a sovereign, while the beaver has almost that of a suppliant, — vivid picture of the difference between the noble pride of science and of the arts, and the timid weakness of ignorance.

The upper part of this scene shows a large space enclosed on all sides, with three re-entrant gates facing north, east and south. It ends toward the west in a triangle within which is a cross. This is evidently a habitation divided into two parts, of which the larger was the dwelling of the natives, the smaller one that of the strangers, who placed a cross therein. It is known that the cross was in use in most remote antiquity among the Egyptians; and the Carthaginians were acquainted with it also, and used it as an instrument of punishment. Behind their dwelling is no. 8, their bark or ship, with stern, prow, mast, and rudder. From no. 11 to no. 9 is a band of alphabetical characters, reading from right to left. No. 11 may be an H or an A; no. 12, a B or an R. The next following characters cannot be deciphered. The band ends in three characters (no. 9), which may be three T's, or more likely three X's, indicating the number of the foreigners. No. 7 resembles a Phœnician *Caph*.

Third Scene. — This relatively empty scene represents the solitude of the future. No. 3 is a colossal bust, the Oracle who has just been consulted; his veil, no. 2, is already drawn. The question put to him was concerning the time of departure homeward; and the answer has been favorable. On the right arm of the Oracle is a butterfly (the right-hand figure within the bust), symbol of return, of resurrection. On the breast of the god is a character which, if hieroglyphical, is the trident of Neptune; if alphabetical, is the Phœnician M, initial of the Phœnician name for water, and thus again symbol of Neptune. No. 4 is a small statue or personage; no. 6 a person advancing hastily.[1] Above no. 5 is the Q of the Syracusans, Corinthians and Carthaginians. It is the initial letter of the name Carthage, — another evidence that Carthaginian

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is the rump, from which one hind leg descends to the unnumbered figure just in front of the beaver, and the other stretches out behind just above the number 13, and terminates in a half-formed hoof. I confess, however, that I shall not resent correction in this identification.

[1] One of these, apparently, is regarded by Gebelin as a priest, of whom he says merely that he is "ready" (déjà prêt). Probably therefore it is no. 4.

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sailors, perhaps while on a voyage to or from England, were driven by some northerly tempest to the shores of America.

At the left extremity of this scene are three monograms, formed of characters that are incontestably Phœnician. No. 1 is formed of the two letters, Sh and N, and is the word Sh-Na, year. The lower ones indicate probably the month and the day of the month. These letters are drawn with more taste and skill than the other figures, which are very crude. This is natural, for the writer on the ship would be more skilful than the painter. Nevertheless, the distribution of the picture is made with much intelligence and unity of design.

It is a happy circumstance for us that this unique monument has been sent to us at the very moment when the fitting accomplishment of our work compelled us to develop our ideas on this subject.

It seems hardly necessary to say that the interest of Gebelin's theory lies not in any possibility that it may be correct, but in its historical and psychological importance as an influence in shaping opinion and as a stage in the gradual development of scientifically sound views. From this point of view every fact, however trivial, every drawing, however distorted, and every theory, however mistaken, is an interesting exhibit, an indispensable factor in the dramatic sequence of events that make up, all taken together, the entire absorbing story. Considered simply as a rude scrawl of unknown meaning made by uncultured Indians, Dighton Rock would be worthy of but scanty notice. As the centre of interest around which has raged a storm of controversy; as the leading motif in a developing symphony that passes through many movements to a final clarity and harmony of many subordinate motifs; as the plot which has involved in an unfolding story a multitude of strange and varied actors; as a mystery which has led through crude and errant stages at last to a sound scientific understanding — Dighton Rock is unsurpassed in its appeal. Its history illustrates almost every variety of scientific error, almost every type of psychological process. As a study in the correct method and common errors in science, and as a subject for illustrating the natural psychology of perception and belief, there is nothing more instructive. My own art is inadequate to present the material in a manner that will exhibit all these features as they might be presented. But it may furnish the raw materials of actual fact, and some part of the machinery of fruitful suggestion, wherewith

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the reader may weave his own perfect fabric. Whoever will take each drawing and, giving free rein to his selective imagination, find it fully justified in the Burgess photograph, as can be done with practically every one of the originals; or, if a copy, find in it an illustration of definite and comprehensible laws of the copying process; and will further think himself sympathetically into the frame of mind and limitations of knowledge of each exponent of a theory, will derive from this study all of its possibilities of instruction and entertainment.

Gebelin, Harris, Hill, Magnusen, Rafn, Dammartin — devisers of detailed theories concerning this inscription — were of the type in whom the possession of a theory, the imagining of the presence of a particular figure, creates a blindness to all other possibilities. The type is common in early stages of scientific advance, and helpful to its development; and it is very common wherever the true lesson and method of science has not been grasped. Gebelin saw a Priapus, a horse, a habitation, a Phœnician letter, — and lo! the figures were indubitably designed by their authors to be just these and nothing else. He believed in the far-extended voyages of the Phœnicians; they might have landed at Dighton Rock, — a possibility which no one to-day would think of denying; and to him it followed that they unquestionably did land here and carve the rock. It is much more profitable and interesting sympathetically to appreciate the type, to welcome the example of a fitting stage in the unfolding drama of opinion, — to regard each new theory offered and each new figure seen as a precious find — than coldly to criticize the interpretation offered and dismiss it as false and unworthy of serious attention.

At least one other feature of psychological interest is present in Gebelin's case. I refer to the occurrence at apt moments of fortunate coincidences. Examples of this have occurred more than once in the history of Dighton Rock. We have seen how Gebelin himself remarked on the happy coincidence of the arrival of a copy of this inscription in his hands just when it was most serviceable to him in the exposition of his theories. He did not himself know fully how remarkable the coincidence was. Not only was Sewall's drawing helpful to him, but, if he really reproduced it as faithfully as he says he did, the particular copy of the drawing that was sent to him

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was, of all the copies of which we have knowledge, the best adapted for his purposes. On all of them he could have found most of his figures, but on no other could he have seen the horse which was most convincing proof of Carthaginian origin; and this seems to be true also of some other figures, such as the sparrow-hawk and the owl. The very copy providentially came to him which he most needed for his purposes. There is no chapter in the history of science that is more curious than that of coincidence. It is laden with suggestions of a beneficent Providence, and of all sorts of strange mental and spiritual forces. It is an elusive light, enticing men much more often into pathways of error than of truth. Yet it has played its part sometimes as an important and even indispensable element in the discovery of the latter.

Gebelin's views naturally aroused much subsequent discussion. Many, like President Stiles, accepted them favorably. Others opposed them. Alexander von Humboldt,[1] for instance, speaks of the "enthusiasm which is natural to him, but which is highly mischievous in discussions of this kind." Lort[2] remarked: "It would scarce be supposed he could be serious, by anyone that did not consider how far a man may be carried by attachment to a system." Vallancey[3] seems to have made an unwarranted statement which, since it has been quoted,[4] needs correction. He calls Gebelin's an "explanation repugnant to all history. Many letters passed between me and Gebelin on this subject; at length he acknowledged his doubts; in short, tacitly gave up the point." This "tacitly" is misleading, and does not justify its conclusion. Vallancey had quite as indefensible a theory of his own to advocate; and that he was naturally a prejudiced and unreliable theorizer we are shortly to discover. Sounder criticisms of Gebelin, however, were fully justified. While his theory was still a serious possibility, the attitude of critical discussion, advocacy or opposition, was the only one possible, instead of that which I have just been defending as desirable now. The question is no longer a genuine issue. Yet it is interesting to notice, in finally

[1] Vues des Cordillères, i. 180; Researches, etc., London edition, 1814, i. 151–153.

[2] Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 300.

[3] Ibid. viii. 302.

[4] For example: Gabriel Gravier, Notice sur le roc de Dighton, 1875, p. 9.

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taking leave of Gebelin, that I have found — in sources, of course, that have no scientific importance whatever — two revivals of this old Phœnician theory as recently as 1890 and 1915.

Du Simitière; Stiles's Election Sermon, 1783; Lort and Vallancey

In earlier discussions, I have quoted several times from an unpublished manuscript by Du Simitière. Everything of importance in it has been given, except its conclusion, which gives evidence that part of it, at least, was written shortly after the publication of Gebelin's eighth volume in 1781.

It seems that the opinion of the learned of this day in New England, is, that, the above mentioned inscription or some other, in that part of the continent is really of the highest antiquity and it is like to make more noise now in the world than ever it did before; as will appear from the following paragraph, translated from the *Journal politique ou Gazette des Gazettes* [Bouillon, May 22, 1781, p. 65. The quoted passage mentions Gebelin's theory and his forthcoming "memoir"]. N.B. the above mentioned intended memoir has been actually published at Paris in June 81. in the work entitled [here follows the unabridged title, in about seventy-five words, of the Monde Primitif]. for an account of this work see Mercure de France N° 28 for July 14, 1781 page 76.

Dr. Ezra Stiles, whose drawings of 1767 we have already discussed, continued his interest in Dighton Rock throughout his life. His only public reference to it that I can find occurs in his Election Sermon of 1783; but he mentions it several times in his Diary, both before and after that event. The Diary [1] references are as follows:

May 1, 1782. — I wrote a Letter to Professor Williams of Harv. Coll. answer[d] his upon M. Gibelins Opinion that the Inscription upon the Rock at Taunton is Punic or Phœnician. I doubt it, hav[e] compared it with all the oriental Paleography. (III. 19–20.)

May 16, 1783.[2] — Visited Dighton Rock charged with Inscriptions & Character which M. Gebelin of the Acad[y] of Paris says is Phœnecian or Carthaginian. (III. 72.)

Oct. 3, 1788.[3] — At Assonet employed in taking off the Inscription

[1] Literary Diary.

[2] The Itinerary mentions this visit, giving no fuller information.

[3] This visit is somewhat more fully recorded in the Itinerary. The drawing is not preserved there, and was probably an unsatisfactory one to Stiles himself.

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on Dighton Rock, which I formerly copied in 1766. (III. 330.) [The 1766 should have been 1767. His biographer, Abiel Holmes, follows the error.]

Sept. 16, 1790. Writ[e] a Letter to Dr. Barton [1] of Philad[a] with Copies of Dighton Rock Inscriptions &c. upon his public[n] of American Antiquities. (III. 402.)

The doubts that he expressed in 1782 concerning Gebelin's theory seem to have wholly disappeared at the time of his Election Sermon in 1783. The occasion of this sermon is sufficiently indicated in its title.[2] It was only a year and a half since Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown, and peace had not yet been formally ratified with England. Indian wars had ceased in New England; but to the country as a whole they yet presented a serious problem.

The future destiny of the new United States was uncertain, but Stiles saw for it an "elevation to glory and honor." He based his certainty of this fortunate outcome on the prophecy in the ninth chapter of Genesis: "Cursed be Canaan; . . . God shall enlarge Japhet, and Canaan shall be his servant." "We are to consider all the european settlements of America collectively," he says, "as springing from, and transfused with the blood of Japhet. . . . I rather consider the American *Indians* as *Canaanites* of the expulsion of Joshua." In proof of the latter contention, he cites the observa-

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He worked on it for about an hour and a quarter, and then "I desisted with an unfinished Draw[g], discouraged" for some reason whose brief record is illegible.

[1] In 1787 (?) Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D., had published: "Observations on some parts of natural history: to which is prefixed an account of several remarkable vestiges of an ancient date which have been discovered in different parts of North America." It bears no date, but is supposed to have been issued in 1787, an assumption confirmed by the fact that it was reviewed in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1787 (lvii. 992–993). It was printed as Part I of a larger work, but no more was published. It contains no reference to Dighton Rock. It is now rare, but a copy of it can be found in the Library of Congress.

[2] The United States elevated to Glory and Honor. A Sermon, Preached before His Excellency Jonathan Trumbull, Esq L.L.D. Governor and Commander in Chief, And the Honorable The General Assembly of The State of Connecticut, Convened at Hartford, At the Anniversary Election, May 8th, 1783, New-Haven, 1783, pp. 99. See pp. 9–14.

I do not know whether this sermon was given in full as printed. If it was, I calculate, after timing the reading of several pages at a fairly rapid rate, that it must have taken upwards of two hours and a half to deliver. It is amusing, therefore, to notice that on p. 94 he says "But I trespass upon your patience," and then continues preaching for five pages more.

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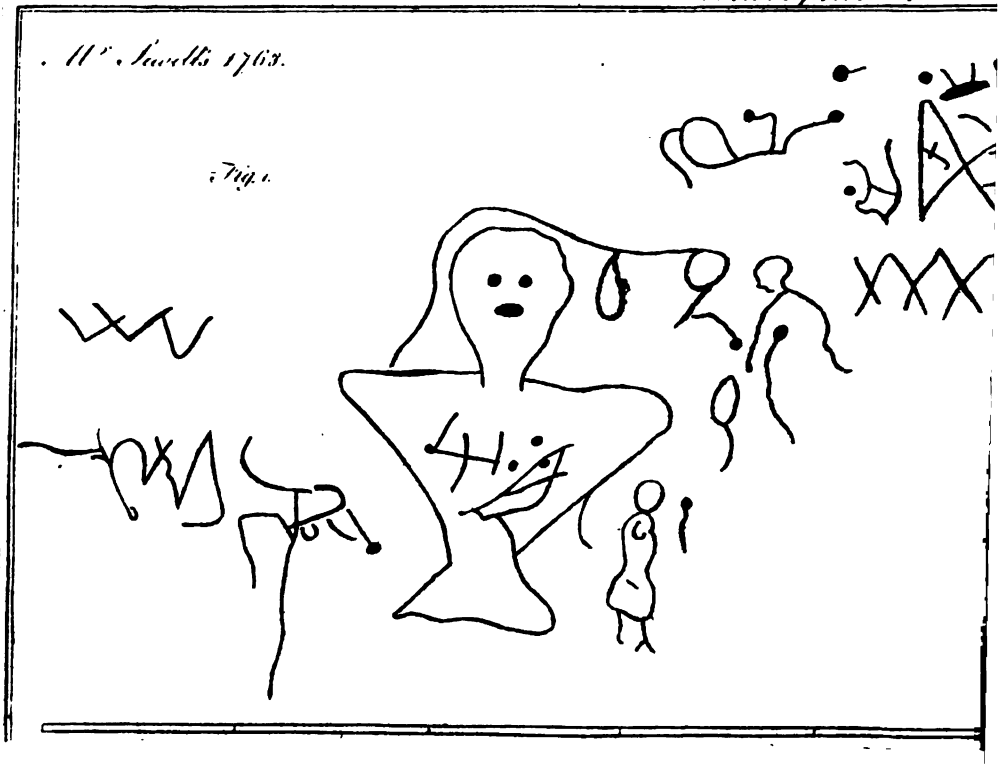
Inscription in . Va

. Mr. Sewall's 1763.

Fig. 1.



SEWALL'S

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE PE

LORT'S REPRODUCTION

FROM ARCHAEOLOGIA, 1787. VIII. PLATE XIX. EN

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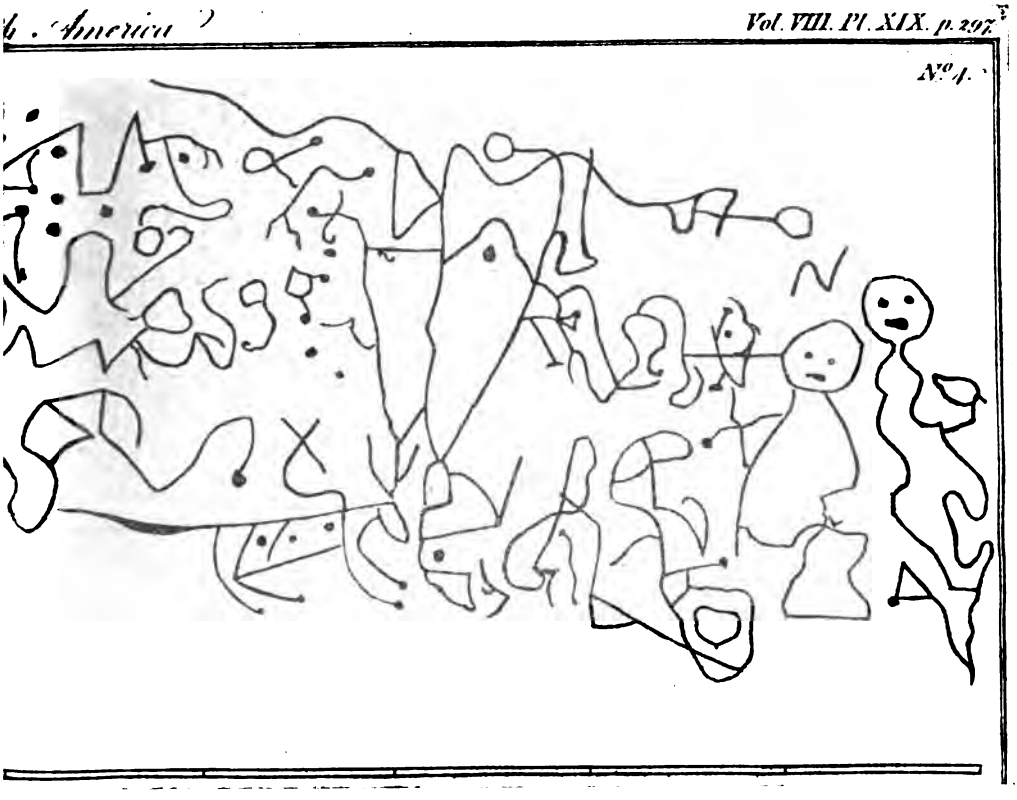

AWING, 1768
DY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SEWALL'S DRAWING, 1768
NED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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tions of Smibert, who saw in the Indians a resemblance to Siberian Tartars.[1] From this and other unspecified data, "we may perceive, that all the Americans [i. e. Indians] are one people — that they came hither *certainly* from the north-east of Asia; *probably* also from the mediterranean; and if so that they are canaanites, tho' arriving hither by different routs." He concludes, therefore, from the Biblical prophecy, that the Indians "will eventually be, as the most of them have already become, *servants unto Japhet*" ("at least unto tribute," as he says in another place); and that "the population of this land will probably become very great."

In the course of this argument he makes mention of Dighton Rock, which he regards, apparently, as the work not of the Indians but of Phœnicians. Providence brought the Indians here, he says, long before the Europeans, and before Madoc in 1170,[2] and before men from Norway in 1001, —

> not to mention the visit of still greater antiquity by the Phœnicians, who charged the Dighton rock and other rocks in Narragansett-bay with *Punic* inscriptions, remaining to this day. Which last I myself have repeatedly seen and taken off at large, as did Professor *Sewall*. He has lately transmitted a copy of this inscription to *M. Gebelin* of the *Parisian* academy of sciences, who comparing them with the Punic paleography, judges them *punic*, and has interpreted them as denoting, that the ancient Carthaginians once visited these distant regions.

This sermon has been misrepresented as being a plea for rebellion, or as advocating the deliberate extermination of the Indians. Thus the reviewer of Lort, who had given a very fair and full abstract of Stiles in Archaeologia,[3] says in the English Review for 1790[4] that Stiles tortured the characters on the rock "into another system in favour of triumphant rebellion." Daniel Wilson represents him as saying that the Indians were to be "displaced and rooted out by the European descendants of Japhet."[5] Gravier says that Stiles accepted Gebelin's theory, "and made it the basis of an argument that the white men, sons of Japhet, should extermi-

[1] See Publications of this Society, xviii. 274.
[2] This date is misprinted 1001.
[3] 1787, viii. 290, 291 note.
[4] xv. 180.
[5] Prehistoric Man, 1862, ii. 173.

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nate the Indians, sons of Ham."[1] I have seen other instances, but do not find them in my notes. It is clear that Stiles did not speak of, much less advocate, extermination; but simply predicted, on scriptural authority, that the Indians would become servants of the whites, "at least unto tribute."

It was the sermon by Stiles, together with Gebelin's discussion, that led the Rev. Michael Lort to search in 1786 for previous references to the rock. Most of the contents of the paper that he read before the Society of Antiquaries of London,[2] the source of nearly all reports as to the earlier history of the case until now, have been presented in earlier connections. As to his own opinions, he was really non-committal at this time. "When I first saw it," he says, "in M. Gebelin's book, I own I could conceive of it as nothing more than the rude scrawls of some of the Indian tribes, commemorating their engagements, their marches, or their hunting parties, such as are to be seen in different accounts of these nations." But he does not tell us whether he still holds to this opinion. After his paper and Vallancey's, which follows it, had been criticized in the English Review,[3] however, and the reviewer had told the story of Dean Berkeley's visit to the rock and resulting belief that the marks were due to natural forces of erosion only, Lort wrote to Bishop Percy on April 16, 1790,[4] saying: "I have reduced it to the lowest standard of human art, by supposing it the scrawl of Indian hunters;" but now, after learning of Berkeley's view, "I am very much disposed to be of this [i.e. Berkeley's] hypothesis."

The next following paper in the same number of Archaeologia (page 302) was entitled: "Observations on the American Inscription. By Colonel Charles Vallancey, F.A.S. Read Febr. 9, 1786." Supporting his views on the similarity existing between Danforth's drawing and an inscription found on a rock in Siberia, described and figured by Strahlenburg, he concludes that Dighton Rock was certainly inscribed by Siberian Tartars. His imperfect sense of strict

[1] Notice sur le roc de Dighton, 1875, p. 10f.

[2] Account of an antient Inscription in North America, Archaeologia, 1787, viii. 290–301. Read November 23, 1786.

[3] xv. 180–182. See pp. 268, 269, of my former paper for fuller notice of this and the following reference.

[4] J. B. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, 1848, viii. 504–506.

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accuracy is exhibited at the very beginning of his paper, where he says that "the drawing of the inscription sent to M. Gebelin was taken by Dr. Greenwood in the year 1730," instead of by Professor Sewall in 1768. Attention has been called also to his unwarranted distortion of facts concerning a change in Gebelin's belief in consequence of a correspondence between the two. That some, at least, of Vallancey's contemporaries had no high regard for him as a scientific observer is indicated in the following passages quoted from letters by the Rev. Edward Ledwich, who is described by Nichols[1] as a "learned and industrious antiquary and typographer:"

Ledwich to Richard Gough, Esq., June 24, 1787. — I must take the liberty, *entre nous*, of cautioning you about Colonel Vallancey's drawings. On reflection, I believe you will not adopt his whimsical, and, indeed, absurd explanations of the most common things. [Vallancey had tried to prove that an officer's gorget of 100 to 150 years ago was exactly the same as the Urim and Thummim.] . . . All his other profound investigations are equally ridiculous, and at some future time *will be* ridiculed.

Ledwich to Bishop Percy, August 28, 1802. — [Speaks of] Vallancey's ungentlemanlike treatment of every writer dissenting from him, and his monstrous absurdities.

James Winthrop, 1788

Every one who tries to make a free-hand drawing of the inscribed rock quickly realizes that, whatever his skill, his copy differs to some extent from the original. There was constant dissatisfaction with the copies already made, and a desire to obtain something more accurate. Before the introduction of photography, the most promising method of guaranteeing complete fidelity seemed to be to cover over the artificial characters with something like ink or paint, and then press paper firmly against the rock and thus take off the characters in exact form and size. Perhaps Stiles had attempted this in July, 1767; and certainly Paddack did in the following month. But these copies never became widely known, and Stiles's has not been preserved. In 1788, however, James Winthrop[2] made use of a similar

[1] Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, 1848, vii. 809. The letters quoted are in this same volume, pp. 824, 847.

[2] For an account of James Winthrop, and the need of distinguishing between him and his father, John Winthrop, see page 66, above.

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method, and the life-sized impression which he obtained was long preserved in the Library of Harvard College,[1] but seems now to have disappeared. Fortunately, however, an engraving[2] of it, from a copy reduced by an accurate method, accompanied by a letter dated November 10, 1788, in which Winthrop describes his method and observations, was published in 1804.[3] He says:

"At the lowest tides the water retires from the foot of it, but at high water it is commonly covered." The face is natural, not smoothed by art; measures ten feet six by four feet two. "Tradition informs us, that in the last century it stood as much as four rods from the river, but the inhabitants by digging round it, upon the foolish expectation of finding money, gave a passage to the tide." Speaks of Sewall's copy, in the Museum of the University at Cambridge. "The lower part of the rock has been for a long time coated with moss and dirt, which concealed a considerable part of the inscription." The shortness of its uncovering by the tides "will abundantly account for any deficiency or imperfection in the copy taken by Professor Sewell, whose habitual accuracy and attention are well known."

"In the course of last August,[4] upon the invitation of Judge Baylies,[5] of Dighton, I went to view the rock, and take a copy of it. We were assisted by Rev. Mr. Samuel West and Col. Edward Pope, both of New Bedford, and Rev. Mr. Smith, of Dighton.[6] We spent one

[1] See memoir by Rev. Dr. N. L. Frothingham, in 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 142; and Kendall, Travels, ii. 221. Other accounts, however, say it was in the Museum. Probably, therefore, it was in the same room in Harvard Hall, in which Sewall's drawing was kept (see p. 63, above).

[2] The engraving measures, in its printed part, about 7¼ by 20½ inches. It is "a reduced representation of Mr. Winthrop's original draft; accurately traced under his inspection." It is reproduced from a photostatic copy in Plate XXIV. Compare with Mallery's reproduction, Plate II, originating in Rafn's non-photographic reproduction in Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, and therefore presenting some difference from the original.

[3] Account of an Inscribed Rock, at Dighton, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, accompanied with a copy of the Inscription, Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1804, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 126–129.

[4] Dr. Stiles, in his Itinerary (p. 251, October 3, 1788) gives the date as August 21; but Winthrop's own account makes it August 13.

[5] Dr. William Baylies: see p. 58 note 3, above.

[6] Rev. Dr. Frothingham, in the memoir just referred to, says that Mr. Thaddeus Mason Harris also "accompanied and assisted him. I have heard him describe the pantographic process by which it was done." Winthrop's own statement,

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day in clearing the face of the rock, tracing the character, and painting[1] it black. . . . The next day [August 14, 1788], . . . after retracing the character with paint, . . . we applied the paper to the face of the rock, two of us managing the ends of the sheet, and the remainder, with towels, which we dipt into the river, pressing the paper upon the rock. . . . As soon as the paper was dry enough to be removed, we laid it upon the shore and completed the character with ink." Afterward, at home, he traced the inscription with ink upon the other side of the paper. Having thus obtained a "positive," he had a large "pentagraph" made, which would expand thirteen feet; and therewith made the reduced copy which was reproduced in the engraving.

"The inscription comes within eight inches of the bottom of the rock, and runs off at the top and ends, which makes it highly probable, that it has suffered considerably since it was first wrought. The character is generally about half an inch wide and very shallow, appearing as if it was made by some pointed instrument." As to his method of copying it, it "appears in practice to be simple and exact."

The fallacy of Winthrop's confidence in the accuracy of his method lies in the facts, first, that it does not insure a reliable distinction between natural and artificial markings; and secondly, that he and his party painted only what they personally believed to be inscription. We can have no confidence that their selection of characters as artificial was any more to be relied on than that of any one else who attempts to depict them. As I have previously suggested,[2]

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corroborated by a similar statement in Stiles's Itinerary, makes it clear that Harris was not one of the party. It is probable, however, that he later, in Cambridge, assisted Winthrop in making a reduced copy; for it was the copy, not the original, that was made in the manner alluded to. I cannot discover that T. M. Harris ever recorded his opinion of Dighton Rock, although he was greatly interested in Indian remains and described some of the mounds in Ohio. He believed that the Indians who made these mounds were of Siberian Tartar origin, and were driven southward into Mexico by the northern tribes of Indians, who came originally from northwestern Europe. This belief evidently would not commit him to acceptance of the Tartar theory concerning the rock. See his Journal of a Tour into Ohio in 1803 (1808), pp. 147 ff.

[1] The "paint" used is said by Stiles (in his Itinerary) and by Kendall (in his Travels) to have been printers' ink.

[2] Previous paper, xviii. 236. This paper, p. 52, above.

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any one who seeks to improve upon the actual vagueness and uncertainty of the inscription by showing it in a definite and detailed form, must infallibly be in error; and this is true whether he draws the characters as they appear to him, or makes a cast of them and then renders it legible by painting in his interpretation,[1] or chalks the supposed characters on the rock itself and then either draws or photographs the result. It is, of course, true that the method is well calculated to present the size, proportions, and relative positions of the figures in an exact manner. But as to what artificial figures are actually there, comparison of this paint-and-paper impression with the Burgess photograph, the most trustworthy reproduction in existence, and with the many differing other original copies that have been made, from which it differs vastly more than they from one another, seems to justify the conviction that Winthrop's result is the least trustworthy of any. It has rarely met with approval by any expert judge, and has often been justly criticized. Thus Kendall says: "Of all others the method of procuring a copy, described by Mr. Winthrop, is the one most infallibly adapted for producing a deceitful issue. . . . No such expedient can succeed. The greater part of the inscription is so much worn out, that the forms, of which it is composed, are wholly subject to the fancy; and in several places, where the figures are plain, they are made out, rather by difference of colour, than by difference of surface. Figures of the latter class can yield no impression; and those of the former will take any shape, into which the printers' ink may be spread."[2] Elsewhere he says further: "It must be evident, that the accuracy of the impression eminently depended upon the accuracy with which the ink was applied. Now, the sculptures being in general very obscure, nothing could be more easy than to apply the ink erroneously."[3] Thomas H. Webb[4] disapproves of Winthrop's method, and of chalking the characters and then photographing them, "so that we have not a daguerreotype of the original, but of the part supposed to have been

[1] This was done in the case of the only cast known to have been made, that in the Gilbert Museum at Amherst College.

[2] Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 186.

[3] Travels, ii. 226.

[4] Unpublished Letter to John Ordronaux, May 9 and 27, 1854; in the collection of the Old Colony Historical Society, Taunton.

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traced." C. R. Hale [1] is another critic who finds Winthrop's copy defective. Both Kendall and Hale approve only of a drawing by a skilled artist, with the characters left purposely vague as on the original, such as were made by Kendall himself and by Seager; and, with the exception of a clear photograph made without any chalking or other selective brightening of the lines, I believe that they are right.

Washington, 1789; the Belknap Papers

It is said to have been this copy by James Winthrop that attracted the attention of George Washington in the autumn of 1789. The circumstances are related most fully and authoritatively by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop, in a letter of August 10, 1809, to Judge John Davis.[2] Dr. Lathrop, who was with Washington at the time of the latter's visit to the Museum of Harvard College, told the latter of the belief that there were Oriental characters on the Rock, and that Phœnician navigators, "who as early as the days of Moses are said to have extended their navigation beyond the Pillars of *Hercules*," had made the inscribed record.

After I had given the above account, the President smiled, and said he believed the learned Gentlemen whom I had mentioned were mistaken: and added, that in the younger part of his life, his business called

[1] Unpublished manuscript, 1865, in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[2] Printed in full in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 114–116. Washington's visit was made October 29, 1789. The Massachusetts Centinel of Saturday, October 31, said:

On Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, The PRESIDENT of the United States sat out from his residence in Court-Street, on his journey eastward, . . . At Cambridge he was received in the Philosophy-Room of the University, by the President and Corporation, and after breakfasting he viewed the Library, Museum, &c. He then continued his journey (p. 2/3).

Washington's own account, under date of October 29, is as follows:

Left Boston about 8 o'clock. Passed over the Bridge at Charles-Town, and went to see that at Malden, but proceeded to the College at Cambridge, attended by the Vice-President [John Adams], Mr. Bowdoin, and a great number of Gentlemen.

At this place I was shown by Mr. Willard, the President, the Philosophical aparatus, and amongst others Pope's Orary (a curious piece of Mechanism for shewing the revolutions of the Sun, Earth, and many others of the Planets), the library, (containing 13.000 volumes,) and a Museum (Diary, ed. Lossing, 1860, p. 38).

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him to be very much in the wilderness of Virginia, which gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with many of the customs and practices of the Indians. The Indians he said had a way of writing and recording their transactions, either in war or hunting. When they wished to make any such record, or leave an account of their exploits to any who might come after them, they scraped off the outer bark of a tree, and with a vegetable ink, or a little paint which they carried with them, on the smooth surface, they wrote, in a way that was generally understood by the people of their respective tribes. As he had so often examined the rude way of writing practised by the Indians of Virginia, and observed many of the characters on the inscription then before him, so nearly resembled the characters used by the Indians, he had no doubt the inscription was made, long ago, by some natives of America.

There are numerous references to both Stiles and Winthrop, and their dealings with Dighton Rock, in the correspondence between Dr. Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard[1] at about this time. Most of them are unimportant, but they infuse a gleam of humor into our subject, and add a little information. Hazard speaks of the rock in 1784 as a puzzle to Dr. Stiles. Belknap replies: "There is no end of conjectures when one's imagination is warmed, as the Doctor's apparently is with his system." In 1788, Belknap writes: "Jemmy Winthrop has visited Dighton Rock, and taken off the inscription more perfectly than it was ever done before. But, how to translate it? Ay, there's the rub. And perhaps, if it was translated, it might prove an unmeaning scrawl. But we are in the dark in that." In reply, Hazard remarks prophetically: "Many a man may run his head against Dighton Rock before the meaning of the inscription on it will be known;" and Belknap, in return, criticizes Winthrop's copy.

Before citing Belknap's next letter to Hazard in which this subject is mentioned, brief notice may be given to the fact that John Pintard, writing to Belknap on August 26, 1789, speaks of James Winthrop, and says: "I wish to contribute my aid towards his decyphering the Dighton Rock, but I apprehend it impossible."[2]

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[1] Belknap Papers, i. 343, 353, 361, ii. 76, 77, 81, 160.

[2] Belknap Papers, iii. 447. A footnote on p. 446 tells who this John Pintard was.

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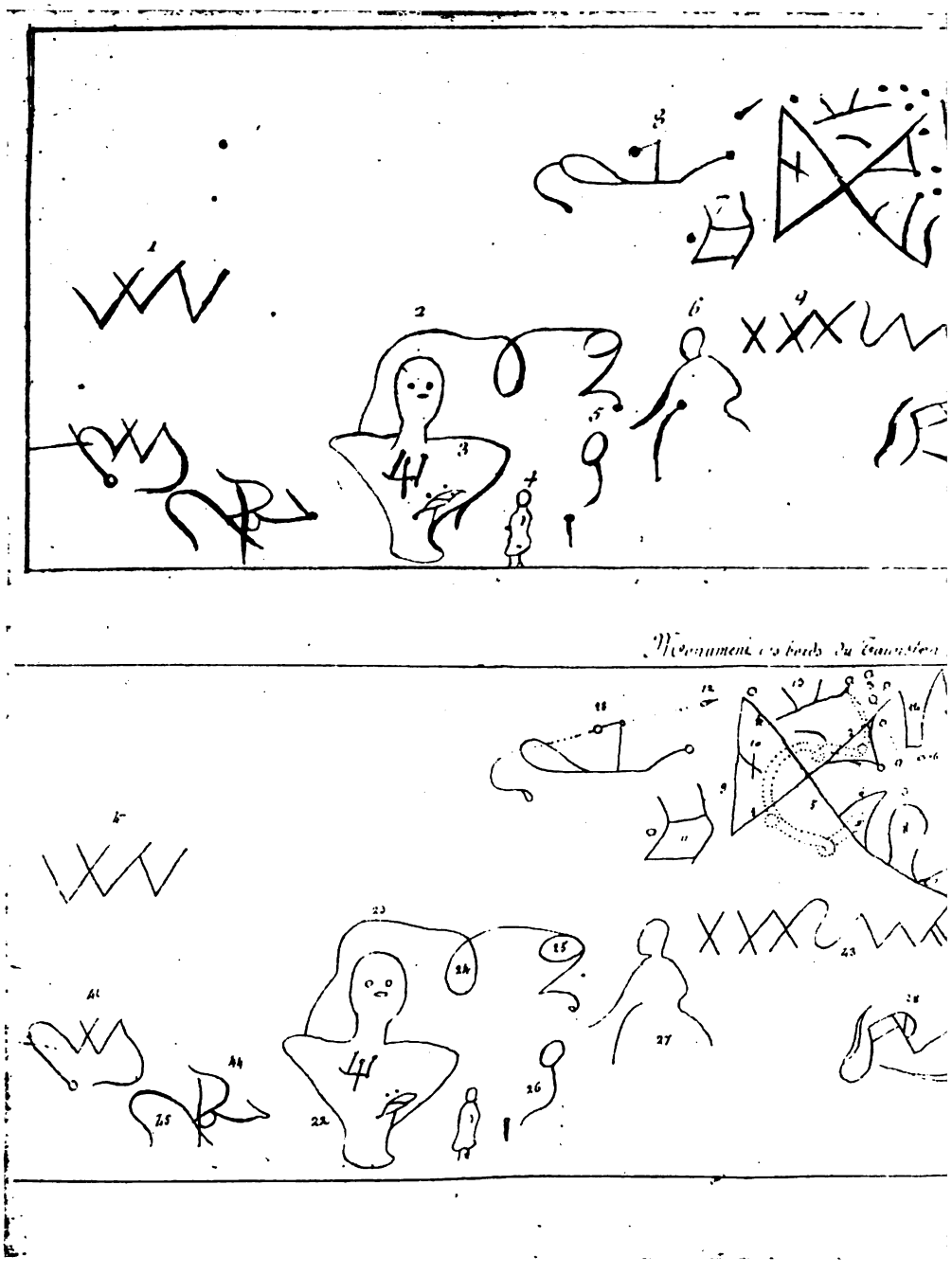

GEBELIN'S REPRODUCTION (

FROM GEBELIN'S MONDE PR

DAMMARTIN'S REPRODUCTION OF GEBELIN'S

FROM DAMMARTIN'S EXPLICATION DE LA PIERRE DE TAUNSTON, 1836.

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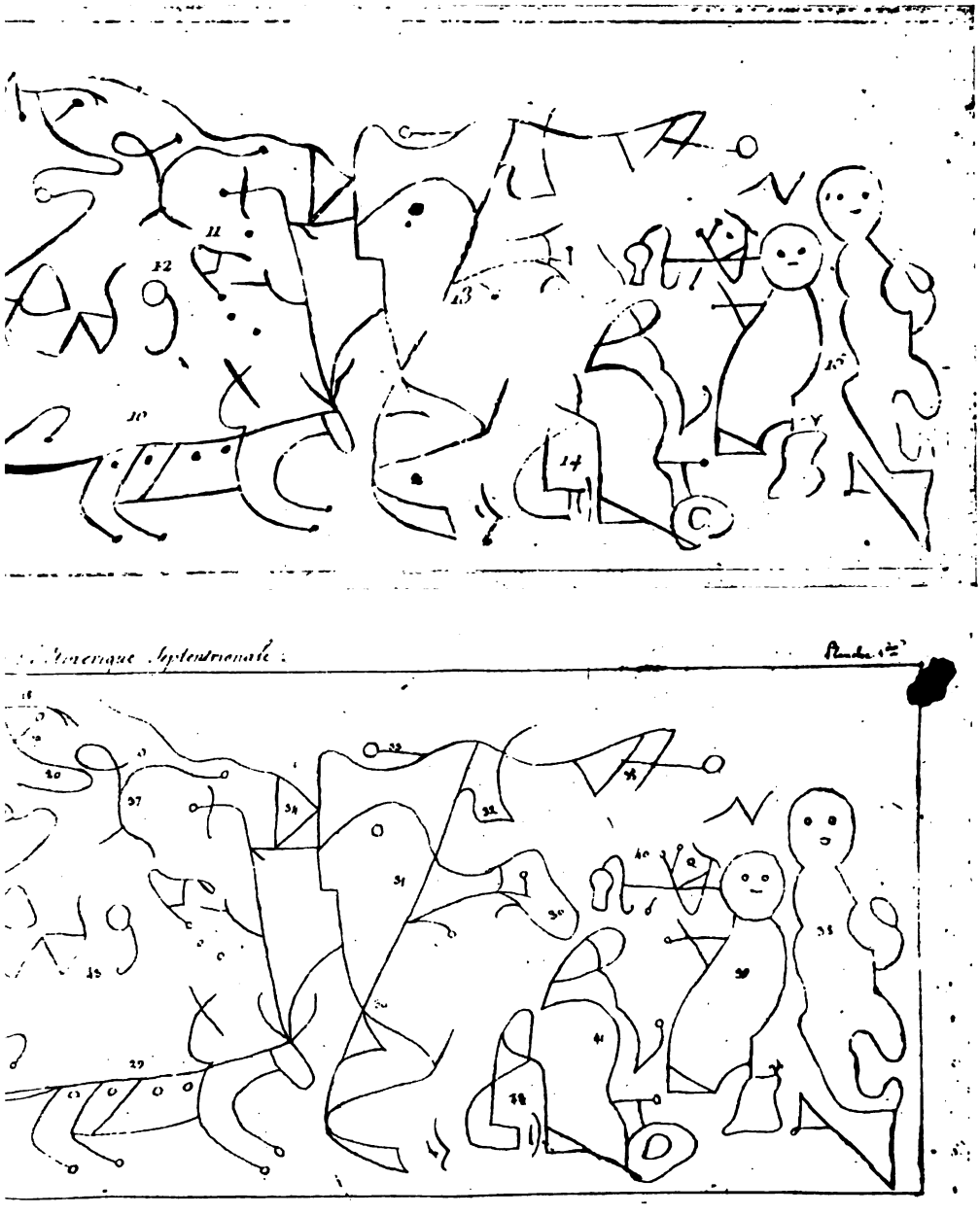

SEWALL'S DRAWING, 1768

ITIF. 1781. VIII, PLANCHE I

EPRODUCTION OF SEWALL'S DRAWING, 1768

ANCHE I. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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BAYLIES-SMITH-WEST-GOODING-BAYLIES DRAWING, 1789

In the final letter by Belknap referring to this matter, a new event is recorded. On the 20th of August, 1789, he writes to Hazard as follows:

We had nothing of any great consequence at the Academy. . . . We had, also, a third copy of the inscription on Dighton Rock. There is a *bird* added to the discoveries, which is said to bear some resemblance to the cassowary of the East Indies; and there are figures which resemble our Arabic numerals 18881. There is, also, a figure which seems to be compounded of two Roman capitals, thus, ΛA. What they will finally make of it, I know not. This communication was from Dr. Baylies, of Dighton, who lives in sight of the Rock.

The reference here is to a drawing which has been known wrongly as "Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin's Copy, 1790," through errors in both name and date that were made early, and were continued in the name attached to its reproduction in the Antiquitates Americanæ of 1837, the only published and well known version of it. But there are two drawings which are clearly variants of the same, in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. One of them, 7½ by 19 inches in size, bears the description: "Dighton Inscription copied in 1789 by Rev. Mr. Smith. Presented to the Society July 1, 1889, by W. P. U[pham]." On the other, 12 by 22 inches, is written: "Dighton Inscription Sent to Presid[t] Stiles By Rev[d] M[r] Smith 1789." To these I can add another original, measuring 7¼ by 20¾ inches, that was drawn by Joseph Gooding of Dighton. I have found in print no authoritative account of the authors and circumstances of this historically important version of the inscription. From various unpublished sources, however, that have never been brought together, we discover that it was made shortly before July 25, 1789; that several copies were drawn at the same time directly from the rock; that Joseph Gooding[1] and another person,

[1] Joseph Gooding, Jr., was born March 6, 1773, in Dighton; developed remarkable mechanical genius, and before he was 21 commenced the manufacture of brass clocks at his home; later enlarged the business and made tall mahogany-cased clocks; was town clerk in the short-lived Wellington, and in Dighton 1806 to 1809; made watches in Troy (Fall River) 1826 to 1838, but returned to Dighton; was a skilful designer, engraver and die-cutter; died November 11, 1853, at the age of 80 years and 8 months. See Hurd's History of Bristol County

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probably either Samuel Baylies or William Baylies, Jr., were the actual draughtsmen; that the rock, in preparation for the draught, had first been carefully studied and its artificial lines selected and chalked by the Rev. John Smith[1] and the Hon. William Baylies of Dighton, the Rev. Samuel West[2] of New Bedford, and "an engraver;" and that the Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, not yet satisfied with the several copies he had made or of which he knew, was probably responsible for its making, having applied to the Rev. John Smith to secure a new drawing.

The fullest and earliest account of the affair is contained in a letter from the Rev. John Smith of Dighton to Dr. Stiles, preserved among the Stiles papers in the Yale Library; and it adds much to what has previously been known from other sources.

(1883), pp. 238n, 261, 264. Dates of birth and death were supplied by the Town Clerk of Dighton, who secured them from present members of the Gooding family.

[1] Minister at Dighton; successor to the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, whom he assisted for five years before the latter's death in 1777. Graduated Princeton 1770. The following sketch of him appears in S. D. Alexander's Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century (1872), pp. 137–138:

John Smith was a native of Plainfield, Connecticut. He became a Congregational minister, and on the 22d of April, 1772, was settled at Dighton, Massachusetts. In 1802, he became a Missionary in the neighborhood of Canandaigua, New York. He gave a deed of six thousand acres of land to form a seminary of learning in Canandaigua. Afterwards, Mr. Smith removed to Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, where he remained till 1812, when he removed to Nelson County, Kentucky, acting as a Missionary in both places. He died in Kentucky in 1820. Mr. Smith was the grandfather of Professor Henry B. Smith of the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

That the 6000 acres here mentioned were a grant from the State of New York for educational purposes is made probable by an unquoted portion of Smith's letter to Stiles.

[2] Minister at Acushnet in Dartmouth, now New Bedford; born Yarmouth, Mass., March 3, 1730; Harvard 1754; ordained June 3, 1761; a prominent Whig; member of conventions for framing the constitution of Massachusetts and of the United States; member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; D.D. Harvard 1793; died Tiverton, R. I., September 24, 1807. "A man of superior abilities and education for that period. . . . A man of considerable erudition; and in his personal appearance, as well as his remarkable eccentricities of character, is thought to have resembled the great Dr. Johnson." See Ricketson's History of New Bedford (1858), pp. 276, 318 f. Another Samuel West graduated at Harvard in 1761, was a Boston minister, died 1808. The two are often confused.

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Dighton July 25. A D 1789.

Honorable much respected & Dr Sir,

My long delay in sending you a delineation of the characters of the Dighton Rock, be assured, is not to be imputed to my neglect or want of attention to your application. but to the very great difficulty of describing them with precision. You are sensible, Sir, that no two descriptions by any two Gentlemen, or any two taken by any one person, at different times, do agree with each other. And I am fully of the opinion there were originally more characters on the rock than we have been wont to imagine. Some characters are always evident; others are sometimes very distinguishable, & some others are commonly unobserved being by time almost obliterated. And the characters, in general less evident, on some days or rather hours in the day, are obvious, but are commonly almost imperceptible. Hence the reason of the dissimilitude of the several copies which have been heretofore taken. In the solution of those different appearances of the characters on the rock at different times you will, Sir, permit me to observe That the situation of the Sun with respect to the rock & the station of the observer or draughtman are both to be considered. When the Sun begins to incline to the west of the Rock, having passed his meridian so far as to cast his rays obliquely on the Rock which looks about N.W. leaving the ingraved characters in a partial shade, is, I think, the time to discover the most if not all the characters. The station and distance of the observer or delineator is also a very material circumstance; in one position and distance some characters are discernable but in another invisible. We find that a distant and oblique view in which the sight is the least injured by the refraction of the light, is the most favorable to the discovery of those character which in general are the least evident. It is a fact that some characters not discoverable in one station become evident by another; the station for some reasons, at the time, may be too near or too remote, too oblique or too direct with respect to the object to be discovered. To take off those characters, even tolerably, we have found to be a work of long observation and repeated labour.

With all drafts before us formerly taken & obtainable our own (Professor Sewalls and Mr Winthrop's, the latter taken the last summer in the manner I formerly mentioned) the Revd Sam^ll West of Dartmouth & Honourable Wm Baylies A. A Socii[1] assisting both of whom had formerly and the latter repeatedly of late attended us in compleating this business (with the assistance also of an engraver in the leading draft before

[1] This means that the two gentlemen were Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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this) and two *draftmen* [1] who draw to the life attending from eight o,clock A.M. until 2. P.M., & examining minutely every character, wishing to visit the rock no more, and determining to do everything perfectly, was this copy of the Dighton Rock which we have presented you, drafted. It is the opinion of the gentlemen who attended, that this draft has never been equalled; nor do they conjecture that it can hereafter be much exceeded. It is indeed possible that a very curious hand who had no other object of attention might by visiting the rock daily, a number of weeks, amend that draft; but no man, can, I apprehend, by a few visits determine that the draft we have sent you is much defective. We are however so diffident of its perfection that should it be ever made publick, it is our opinion, that ye other draughts should be published with it; for though it may in general be more complete it may in a few strokes be less accurate than some of the other descriptions; and a general view of the whole, it is probable will manifest the more evident traits of the original.

We discovered a few strokes below the animal, but not sufficiently evident for delineation. The bird is supposed to be the Casuary peculiar to Asia; & it is conjectured that the animal is asiatic.

Was N. America once inhabited by a people from Asia who were skilled in hierogliphicks, who used the shield and helmet, who worshiped on high places & who gradually receeding before the more nothern tribes from Siberia settled themselves in the southern continent?

The Hon. Wm Baylies has applied to Mr Winthrop of Cambridge to present Dr Stiles with a copy of his delineation of the characters of the Dighton Rock — which he has probably already received.

To the Revd Dr Stiles President of Yale College, this description of the Dighton Rock is most humbly presented, in testimony of unfeigned respect and great esteem, by his most obedient and very humble servant

John Smith.

P. S. . . . The preceeding account of the Dighton has been read & approved by those gentlemen whose names are herein mentioned, desiring y^t^ I would add that the description being taken with a pen it is conjectured . . .[2] is not exactly proportioned.

The proportion of one figure with another, must I conceive from the mode in which he made his draught, be more exactly impressed by Mr Wintworth, than could be made on sight by a draughtman tho very expert.

[1] Here "draughtmen" is written above the line.

[2] Here "they" is written and crossed out, and no word substituted.

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The copies I have sent you, Sir, were taken at the same time; *which* ye most nearly resembles the original we can hardly determine. The delineations I have sent you are also somewhat defective in the relative distances of some of the characters.

Capt Walter Haley who has resided seven years in China, not knowing our conjectures, declared the bird to be the Casur or Casuar of China; one of which he saith he owned several years, & the figure answers well to the description which he gives of that bird.

In view of later conflicting statements as to who was the person chiefly responsible for this version in its several somewhat differing copies, and by whose name it should therefore be known, we could wish that the Rev. John Smith had been more explicit in regard to the several functions of the associates whose names he mentions. He himself, in all the literature of the subject, has never been given credit for it, although according to his own statement he was the leading figure in the enterprise. Another important feature that he fails to mention is that, as a preliminary to the actual drawing, the characters that were so carefully studied out were rendered clear and definite by means of chalk. This was a common practice as a preparation for drawing, resorted to earlier by both Greenwood and Stiles; as it is still the almost universal practice as a preliminary to photography. That it was resorted to in this case we learn from Kendall, who tells us that one of the drawings that he saw in 1807 "is in the possession of the Honourable Judge Baylies, of Dighton, under whose inspection it was made. In this instance, the supposed sculptures were chalked, and the chalked lines were copied. But this expedient . . . is deceitful in its promise of accuracy: I tried it myself, and found that I falsified the figures at every touch."[1]

The drawing that was sent by Smith to President Stiles is no longer preserved with the letter, having wandered somehow to Boston, where I found it unexpectedly after I had become acquainted with the letter itself. It is clearly a version of the same drawing as that spoken of by Belknap as having been sent to the American Academy by Dr. Baylies. That the latter person disputed Smith's claim to the honor of having superintended its making is revealed in the above passage from Kendall, and confirmed by Dr. Baylies

[1] Travels, ii. 226. The "Judge" Baylies of whom he speaks was Dr. William Baylies.

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himself. In the first volume of manuscript Papers of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston is an "Extract of a letter from William Baylies Esq, dated Dighton 27 July 1789, to James Winthrop Esq, with a copy of the Dighton inscription. Communicated by Mr Winthrop." It is endorsed as "Read Aug. 19. 1789." The drawing itself cannot be found, but it is naturally the same as that above mentioned as referred to by Belknap, and its essential identity with the others here discussed is evident. Dr. Baylies' account, though much less circumstantial than Smith's, nevertheless contains some further details, and is as follows:

I have within a few days, made another visit to the Rock. The Reverend Mess'rs West & Smith accompanied me. We endeavoured to be very exact. We viewed it at different distances, in different directions in the full blaze of light, & when shaded. I chalk'd most of the lines myself & I herewith send you a Copy of the Inscriptions as they were chalk'd, done in my Opinion tollerably well; I will not be answerable for the exactness of their magnitude & situation with respect to each other. You will observe that several caracters in this Copy differ from those which have been taken before. I was aware of this, & therefore examined them with the most scrupulous attention. The first Character on the right hand is certainly open at the bottom, and the three Xs are united by curv'd lines at top & bottom. The stroke running from the figure which is on the right of the left Hieroglyphick & seems to form the basis of it, is very plain on the rock. The Bird is entirely new: the head, crest, neck, legs the curv'd stroke behind them & the line of the Belly as far as the legs are all very evident & it is rather surprizing that we should hitherto have overlook'd it. The back is not so easily seen, more especially a little behind the O it is not to be distinguish'd from a number of straight oblique lines terminating in a bushy tail, wider I think, than the Copy gives it. I had no sooner chalk'd it, than it convey'd to me the Idea of a Cassaware, a representation of which I had somewhere seen a number of Years since. Mr West upon seeing it on paper join'd in Opinion with me. I shew'd it to Mr Healy, the Gentleman on whom you call'd when in Dighton to see some Eastern Curiosities, he at once pronounced it a Cassaware without any intimation of my Opinion. He told me that in the East Indies he was well acquainted with the Cassaware, having one in his possession for the space of six months, & he thought this to be a good likeness; the greatest difference was in the Crest; that of the Cassaware being solid, horny, & shap'd like the Comb of a Cock. I observ'd to him that I could not tell

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what to make of the bending stroke behind the legs. His reply was that the Cassaware, when tir'd of standing, eas'd himself down on his belly by resting his Wings on the ground, which being made as he express'd it of unfeather'd sticks, some being much longer than others, bent into that figure upon the Bird's beginning to settle. Should this & the Quadrupede prove to be the Cassaware & Leopard, of which I am not in much doubt, we must go to Asia for the Engravers; & shall find perhaps simular figures in the Pagodas of the East, & finally trace its Origin to the Symbolic Worship of the Scythians. To the left & right of the Bird are several characters which are omitted: as they could not be traced with Accuracy, I thought it best to pass them by entirely. As I despair of obtaining a better, you may lay this Copy before the Academy, if you think it of any Utility.

We are not yet done with claimants to the honor of having produced this drawing. We find a new one in Joseph Gooding of Dighton, about whom we know most fully from an unpublished letter written by Miss Sophia F. Brown of Dighton to the Rev. Edward Everett Hale:[1]

Dighton Oct. 19th 1864. . . . It was made by Joseph Gooding of Dighton, the date as nearly as we can ascertain is 1790. Mr. Gooding who has been dead many years was an old man when he gave it to my mother, and he told her that he made it when he was a boy of fourteen at the same time that he made another copy for a party of gentlemen from Harvard. He said they appeared to be satisfied with the drawing and gave him a silver half dollar which was the largest sum of money he had ever owned. He had to scrape away the moss, he said, then, to obtain the figure of the bird in the lower part of the inscription.

The date given here is approximate only, and should be 1789, for no drawings so much alike as this and the one by the Rev. John Smith could have been made except from the same chalking. Gooding's age should have been given as sixteen; and it is hardly correct to say that the drawing was made for "a party of gentlemen from Harvard." The narrative as it comes to us, moreover, assigns to Gooding sole credit as maker of the drawing; but it is clear from

[1] Presented by Mr. Hale, together with a copy of the drawing made for him by Miss Brown in January, 1862, to the American Antiquarian Society, in whose collection it is now preserved. Miss Brown still had in her possession the original drawing by Gooding of which she speaks, up to the time of her recent death in Providence, and kindly loaned it to me for reproduction.

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Smith's statement that he could have taken no other part in the enterprise than that of one of the two draughtsmen, though he may well have assisted also in the menial task of scraping away the moss and perhaps thus was even the discoverer of the "bird." But the really critical feature, the selective chalking, must have been attended to for the most part, as Dr. Baylies says it was, by the older members of the party.

Some further facts appear in the following passage from the Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot for May 18, 1819,[1] quoted from the Newburyport Herald of May 4:

The writer of this article recollects about the year 1791 or 2, of seeing two copies of the writing on the Rock, taken by two gentlemen of Dighton, one by Dr. H. Baylies, the other by Mr. William Goodwin. Copies of the Doctor's transcript were sent to several of the Universities in this country, and a copy of Mr. Goodwin's was sent by the Rev. John Smith, the minister at Dighton, to the University of Edinburg; but it is not known that, at that period, any satisfactory result was returned as to the origin or meaning of these hieroglyphics. We are led to these observations at this time by observing the following paragraph in a late *New Bedford Mercury*:

"We are requested to mention that the Rev. Timothy Alden, President of Allegheny College, has lately received information from a gentleman in France, that the Hieroglyphics on *Dighton Rock* have been decyphered; and that it appears they were inscribed by an Asiatic in the year of the world 1902. We are promised a further account of them."

The theory here referred to is that of Mathieu, which will receive attention later. The "William Goodwin" of this writer is doubtless Joseph Gooding, and the initial of Dr. Baylies is given wrongly. The Rev. Mr. Smith now becomes apparently a mere copyist from Gooding, while Gooding and Baylies are represented as makers of independent drawings. They both undoubtedly had copies of the drawing in their possession, as proved by the statements of Kendall and of Miss Brown; and each very likely regarded it as "his own" drawing.

Still another person seems to be introduced into this elusive group by the Rev. Dr. William Bentley of Salem, who, in his Diary

[1] P. 1/3. I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews for this discovery.

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WINTHROP'S FULL SIZE IMPRESS

FROM MEMOIRS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. 180

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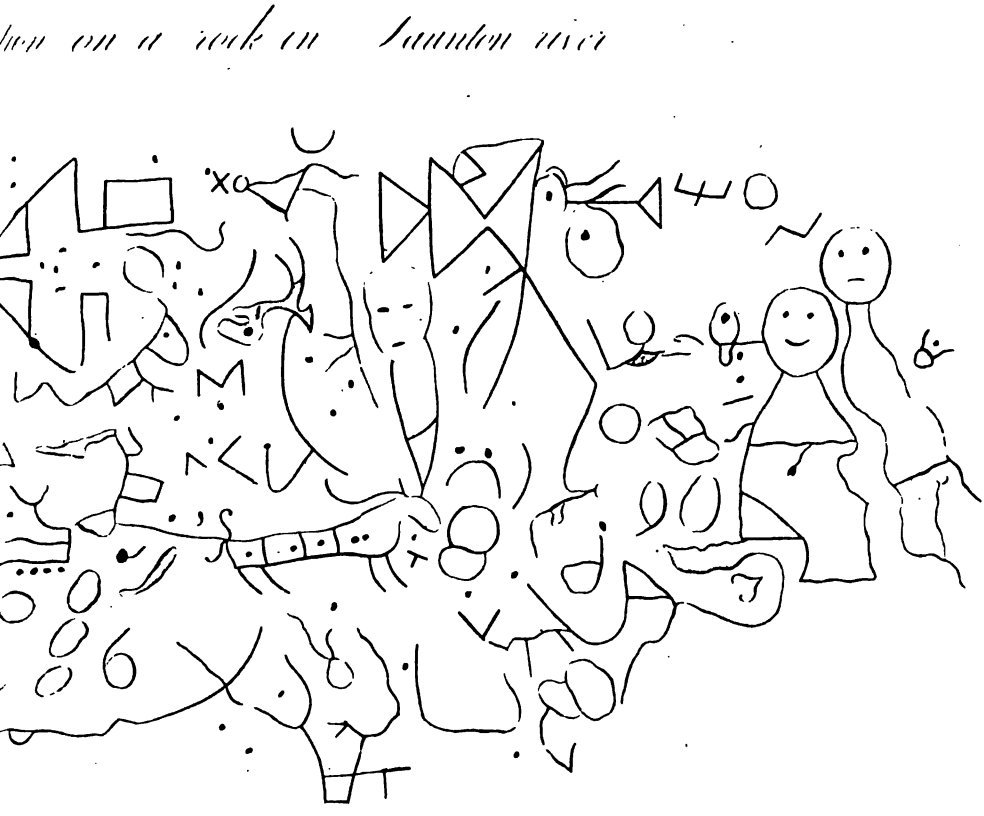
PLATE XXIV



SION FROM DIGHTON ROCK, 1788

04. II. PART II. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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on October 13, 1807, speaks of "figures from the two Baylies, who have been attentive to the Dighton rock & live not far from the spot on which it stands."[1] The second Baylies would naturally have been one of the Doctor's three sons, Samuel, William, or Francis. Possibly one of them served as the second draughtsman.[2] There is no other reference anywhere to either of them as having made or helped to make a drawing.

When Dr. Thomas H. Webb in 1830 was collecting materials for Professor Rafn's great work on the Norsemen, he visited Dighton and there or elsewhere secured a copy of this drawing. If he obtained it from Joseph Gooding, who was still alive, and through him or others learned of Dr. Baylies's connection with it, this would explain, except for the error in the name, why, on its publication in the Antiquitates Americanæ, it was called "Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin's 1790."

The Rev. Charles Reuben Hale, Chaplain of the Naval Academy at Newport, who assisted in making the Seager drawings of 1864, tells us that this drawing was made "under the superintendence of Dr. Baylies."[3] This may be merely a repetition from Kendall. The Doctor's son Francis, speaking to Yates and Moulton in 1824 about the bird and circle, told them that "he had formerly discovered them: they had also been seen by Dr. Baylies, and delineated by him on his map of the inscription."[4] This ends our list of the most important authorities who give evidence that Dr. Baylies claimed or was reputed to have made a drawing of his own. But Dr. Baylies had assisted in the making of Sewall's drawing in 1768; Dr. Baylies, the Rev. John Smith, and the Rev. Samuel West all assisted James Winthrop in 1788; and these three together selected the lines, while Gooding and perhaps a younger Baylies executed the drawings, for this version of 1789. There is no evidence that any

[1] Diary, 1911, iii. 322.

[2] Francis, author of the Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth (1830), would have been too young, having been born in 1783. But his older brothers, Samuel, born June 22, 1774, and William, born September 15, 1776, were of about the same age as Gooding, the other draughtsman. See Hurd's History of Bristol County (1883), pp. 234 f.

[3] Unpublished manuscript on Dighton Rock, 1865, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society.

[4] John V. N. Yates and Joseph W. Moulton, History of the State of New York, 1824, i. 84–86.

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one of them ever had a part in the making of any other drawing. Each one of the five, with the exception of West, has been named as the maker, or co-maker with another, of this drawing; and until I had discovered all of these quoted sources, some of the most important of which have come to my notice last of all and very recently, the actual facts seemed very obscure and contradictory. This is not the only instance where I have met a similar confusion of statement as to authorship of a single reproduction. One of the best known photographs of the rock, taken in 1875, has been mentioned so often under different persons' names, whether as maker, assistant, reproducer, or merely sender of it to some one else, that I had attributed either this or some other unknown photograph to nearly a dozen distinct persons before I succeeded in identifying it as one photograph only, and in being sure as to who it was that made it, and when it was done.

The drawing that accompanied the letter of the Rev. John Smith to President Stiles, the one which Dr. Baylies sent to the Academy and which cannot now be found, the Upham "Rev. Mr. Smith" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the "Baylies and Goodwin" of the Antiquitates Americanæ, and the "Gooding" of Miss Brown, all turn out to be variants from one original chalking of the rock, as indeed is evident on the face of it. Four of them are submitted here for comparison,[1] as well as a later copy published by Mallery, derived from the one in Antiquitates.[2] The comparison is instructive as illustrating again a fact which was appreciated by Mr. Smith, how markedly and inevitably free-hand copies by the same person, or by others from his original, differ from one another. They bear clear indications of having had a common source, of the same sort as that which compelled us to conclude that Cotton Mather copied from Danforth, and would have convinced us that Gebelin copied from Sewall even if we had not assurance of it from other sources. Yet with all their unmistakable resemblance, these five variants present differences that are worthy of attention. The Upham "Smith" is most markedly different from the others, particularly in the tail of the bird and the general proportions of the figures, which in it are flat and thin and somewhat differently shaped. It is clearly

[1] Plates XXV and XXVI.

[2] For the latter, see Plate II in Publications of this Society, xviii.

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a poor drawing from the same original source. In the others the lines are firm and well drawn, and the differences between the four, though existent, are very slight. It is noticeable that a curved line below the body of the bird exists in the two "Smith" drawings only, though in other respects the Stiles "Smith" more closely resembles the Antiquitates "Baylies" and the "Gooding." The Academy "Baylies," we have seen, had the curve and the bushy tail in the bird, like the Upham "Smith." The blot that appears on the "Gooding" is a discoloration of the paper due to age; and on the Upham "Smith" the rear part of the "quadruped" in front of the bird is defective, owing to the fact that a small bit of the paper has broken out on account of the corrosive action of the ink.

C. R. Hale, whose unpublished manuscript has been quoted, regarded this as "one of the best, and, in some respects, the most valuable of all the copies of the stone published." One feature of its importance lies in the fact that it was the one used by Magnusen[1] as the basis for his translation of the inscription as a record made by the Norsemen; and that it was the one on which was based the only detailed Indian reading of the writing that we have.[2] Another interesting thing about it is that, whereas earlier drawings had introduced figures like I, X, M, W, O, which might be letters or might not, this one introduces in addition an unmistakable A joined into an apparent monogram with an M, and also an R preceded by a diamond shape. Both of these, supplemented by additions of later artists, were made of definite use in support of the Norse Theory. Finally, of all drawings, early or late, this is the only one showing the "bird." Some have attributed its later absence to the wearing away of that part of the rock. Apart from the probability that there has been no appreciable erosion of the face of the rock in the last two hundred years, unless on this lowest part of it,[3] this opinion is disposed of by the fact that some of the makers' own contemporaries were unable to discover it, and the further fact that it is my belief that, with a liberal use of selective imagination, I saw most of it in 1915 as plainly, perhaps, as these men did in 1789, and that I can

[1] In Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837.

[2] By Chingwauk, in 1839. See Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, 1851, i. 108–120.

[3] See my previous paper, p. 238.

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easily trace its faintly suggested lines in the Burgess photograph.[1] As to the first of these two facts, we have the authority of Kendall:

> Among the variations, observable in this [Kendall's] drawing, from the drawings made before it, the most remarkable is the omission of the figure of a bird, apparently of the crane species, which is very conspicuous in the drawing made under the inspection of Judge Baylies. But, though I had the advantage of conversing with this gentleman on the subject, and though I visited the rock on six or seven days successively, I was never able to discover this figure. Gentlemen, also, by whom I was more than once accompanied; were equally unable with myself to make the discovery.[2]

Kendall was trying, and successfully, to produce a drawing that for the first time should be a faithful and reliable one; I, with no such responsibility to deter me, in the interest of psychological understanding rather than of archæological accuracy, was willingly giving free rein to my picture-constructing fancy.

EZRA STILES'S MEMOIR, 1790; ABIEL HOLMES, 1798

By far the most detailed and exhaustive treatment of this subject by Dr. Stiles was contained in a paper which he wrote on June 8, 1790, for presentation to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.[3] It has never been published, although some of the non-speculative portions of it have been quoted.[4] The manuscript is preserved among miscellaneous papers in the library of the Academy. It was first sent to Professor Stephen Sewall, together with a letter

[1] See Plate I and p. 236 of my previous paper.

[2] Travels, ii. 228.

[3] The paper consists of 13 closely written pages, followed by several pages of drawings, not including any of Dighton Rock. It is entitled: "An Account of two Inscriptions upon Rocks in Kent and Washington in the Western part of the State of Connecticutt, taken off 1789 by Ezra Stiles, and by him communicated to the Acad^{y} of Arts & Sciences;" is addressed "To his Excellency James Bowdoin Esq. LL.D. President of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston 1790;" is dated "Yale College June 8, 1790;" and is endorsed: "Dr. Stiles Memoir, read Aug. 25, 1790."

[4] By Thomas H. Webb, in a letter of September 22, 1830, to Professor Rafn, published in Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, pp. 359 f. The main memoir is accompanied by another much briefer one of the same date, describing a "stone bust supposed to have been an Indian god;" and this latter was published in 1809 in the Memoirs of the Academy, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 192–194.

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from which, in transmitting the memoir to the Academy on July 12, 1790, Sewall gives the following extract:[1]

I have prepared, & now forward to your care, the Memoir accompanying this, which I must ask you, in my name to present to the President of the Academy of Arts & Sciences. . . . I know I expose myself to be considered as carryed away into imagination and conjecture. But I am willing to risque this imputation, if I could stir up a general Inquiry & examination on Rocks & Stones &c. &c. illustrative of the Antiquities of America.

One of the two rocks described by Stiles in this memoir bore a Hebrew inscription, in connection with whose origin he discusses, among other possibilities, the theory as to the Indians being descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes.[2] But most of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the rock at Scaticook in Connecticut, and its relation to the one at Dighton. After a minute description,[3] in the course of which he says that the characters were made "most certainly with an *Iron Tool*, and that by *Pecks* or picking after the manner of the Dighton Rock," he then continues:

One end of the Dighton Rock has prickt upon it I HOWOO;[4] yet no one who ever saw it, believes that the rest of that very antique Inscription or Character was wrought by an Englishman. [It is of very remote antiquity.] There was a period previous to the Age of Atlas, when the maritime shores of Europe, on this side the pillars of Hercules, around up to the Baltic, were colonized by all the various languages of *Scythia & Japhet*, & some *Phœnician* Navigators of the Derivation of Shem. It was in this period I conjecture those navigated over to America who made these Inscriptions. Of these original Nations there might be some besides the Chinese & Egyptians, who, in their monumental writings for ages, made no use of Alphabetical letters. Of this description might be a ships crew from the Mediterranean or Europe, shipwreckt in *Narraganset* Bay; whose mode of writing might be *characters for*

[1] Preserved in the first Letter-book (1780–1791) of the Academy.

[2] This portion of the paper, with its discussion of various theories and final acceptance of the view that the Hebrew characters were cut in the rock by recent Jewish searchers after mines, is quoted at length by Kendall in his Travels, i. 242–246. Incidentally, Kendall remarks that among his countrymen Dr. Stiles "has some reputation for credulity."

[3] Fully quoted by Webb, loc. cit.

[4] The two O's here are dotted by Stiles: cf. p. 51, above. The passages in brackets, which follow in the text, are condensations from Stiles's statements.

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sentiment, but not for *words* — or possibly a mixture of both, as in the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. There seems to be a mixture of *Phœnician* or antient *Punic* letters, with symbol, & perhaps *ideal character*, in the inscriptions at Narraganset. ATLAS, after the first discovery of his great insular Continent, sent over four ships of settlers to colonize upon it; which on their return, carried back the report, that the island was overwhelmed & *submersa ponto*. One of these Vessels of *Atlas* might have been shipwreckt at Narragansett.

The *Dighton* Rock & this at *Scaticook* may have been the reliquiae of some National character, whether *Alphabetical* or *Ideal*, in current & perhaps extensive usage on the other side of the Atlantic, ages before the punic settlement of *Carthage*, & yet of the period of the Phœnician Ages & of the memorable *Atlantic war* mentioned by *Plato* & *Solon* & *Ælian* & others, antecedent to the glory of Greece, of Carthage & of Rome, & probably antecedent to the *Trojan* war, 1300 Years before the Christian Æra. And tho' this species of National Character should have lasted several centuries after, it might have grown into Desuetude, & have totally vanished from the whole world 2000 years ago. I have made great inquiry these 20 years past for similar inscriptions to those of the Dighton rock; but could never find accounts of any on the *Litoral* Tract, or Seacoast from *Newfoundland* to *Florida;* nor indeed in the interior parts of the Continent.

[He has heard of one at Lake Erie,[1] and suspects it may be similar to those at Scaticook and Dighton.] In which case I should consider it a third specimen of the *Dighton Rock Sculpture*. All which would shew, that there once was a people, or the detachment of a People, which traveld on 40th deg. of Latt. from Narragansett thro' *Scaticook* to *Lake Erie* at least, if not beyond; & in their way charged a few rocks with a Character, antiently familiar to some Nation in *Europe* or *Scythia*, altho now lost for probably 3000 Years. [He mentions other reported rocks, Indian markings on trees, stone idols, etc.; and says the inscriptions should be collected.] Perhaps, tho' never to be read, they may lead to Deductions of considerable moment, in tracing out the Dispersions and Originations of Nations.

It is very evident that Dr. Stiles was indeed liberally "carryed away into imagination and conjecture." Like almost every one else at the time, he was convinced of the great age of the inscription, and was appealed to by the more speculative rather than the more

[1] The descriptions of this rock and of those mentioned later are quoted by Webb, loc. cit., p. 360.

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conservative possibilities. This being true, there is nothing very extraordinary in his conjectures. They offer rather an illuminating exhibit of the limitations of knowledge and the kind of evidence widely accepted as valid in his day. Since then, the "general Inquiry" that he desired to stir up has taken place, in part perhaps as a result of his influence.

Abiel Holmes, in his Life of Ezra Stiles, published in 1798, gave a brief summary of opinions about the rock that were then held. After mentioning the copies by Stiles and Sewall, and the Carthaginian theory of Gebelin, accepted by Stiles, he continues:

> Others suppose it rather an hieroglyphic inscription, than an alphabetical character, and that, therefore, it may be the work of the Chinese, or Japanese; while some seem inclined to conceive of it as nothing more than the rude scrawls of some of the Indian tribes, commemorating their military atchievements, or hunting parties.[1]

Samuel Harris's Hebrew Theory, about 1807

Before the close of the eighteenth century a number of Oriental scholars had made a study of Dighton Rock, and it is probable that they sought eagerly and diligently to discover Oriental characters among the marks represented as engraven upon it. Of the Mr. La Croze from whom Greenwood expected so much, we hear nothing further. Gebelin was the only one thus far who seemed to have succeeded. It remained, apparently, a continued puzzle to Dr. Stiles, although he "compared it with all the oriental Paleography;" Kendall assures us, on the authority of Dr. Bentley, that "professor Sewell had seen nothing on the rock, which reminded him of any ancient alphabet;" and Sewall himself, as we have seen, regarded it as the work of Indians, although he later mentioned the Phœnician theory non-committally to Gebelin. The latter mentions in this connection the well-known story of Diodorus, to the effect that venturesome Phœnician sailors were driven by a tempest and came to an island many days' sail westward, where they found navigable rivers, fertile soil, and many houses. Early in the nineteenth cen-

[1] P. 119. In connection with the last mentioned view, he refers to the Monthly Review, May, 1784, p. 424. There is nothing on this page pertinent to the subject. But on p. 350 (vol. lxx. 1784) is a description by William Bray of the "Indian Method of Picture Writing" on a tree. This is probably what is intended, although it makes no mention of Dighton Rock.

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tury a new and apparently fruitful attempt was made to compare the old alphabets with the Dighton characters, and to wrest from the latter their hidden meaning. This was done by Samuel Harris, Jr., of Boston, who, if we may believe the enthusiastic praises of his contemporaries, must have been the most incredibly profound linguist of all times. He examined Winthrop's copy of the inscription, probably about 1807, and found on it a number of Hebrew words written in the old Phœnician characters. Whether he believed that the rock was a confirmation of the theory concerning the Phœnician sailors, or of that connecting the Indians with the Ten Lost Tribes, we cannot be sure.

The first mention of Samuel Harris in this connection seems to occur in the Diary of William Bentley, under the date of October 13, 1807:

I had the company of Mr. Kendall, an English Gentleman visiting our country. He gave me the best view I had ever had of the Dighton Rock. . . . I shewed him Mr. Harris' letter & the authority of the Palmyrine Characters to which the Marks were compared. Mr. Kendall saw no resemblance of the letters. I maintained that it always stood at the edge of the water from his account of the river near it, & the Ohio rocks with marks are in the same position & these rocks he intends to visit.[1]

Samuel Harris was born in Boston, May 12, 1783. He had a short career of great brilliance and promise; but was drowned while still a student at Harvard, on July 7, 1810. Dr. Bentley first makes mention of him in his Diary on September 18, 1805. Thereafter he speaks of him a number of times in the Diary.[2] When he first knew of him, Harris was "a self taught young man," an engraver "who has displayed taste in his profession." "From his extraordinary attainments" he was "assisted in a public education." "I expected in him the Greatest Orientalist our Country has ever produced. He was a modest, inquisitive, indefatigable man." He also tells us that

[1] iii. 322–323. There is apparently allusion here both to Samuel Harris and to Thaddeus Mason Harris. It was the latter who saw the Ohio rocks in 1803, and described them in the Journal of his Tour. It was probably the former who compared the "Palmyrine Characters" with the marks on Dighton Rock; for he must have reached his conclusions at just about this time by some such comparison.

[2] iii. 191, 194, 322, 530, 532.

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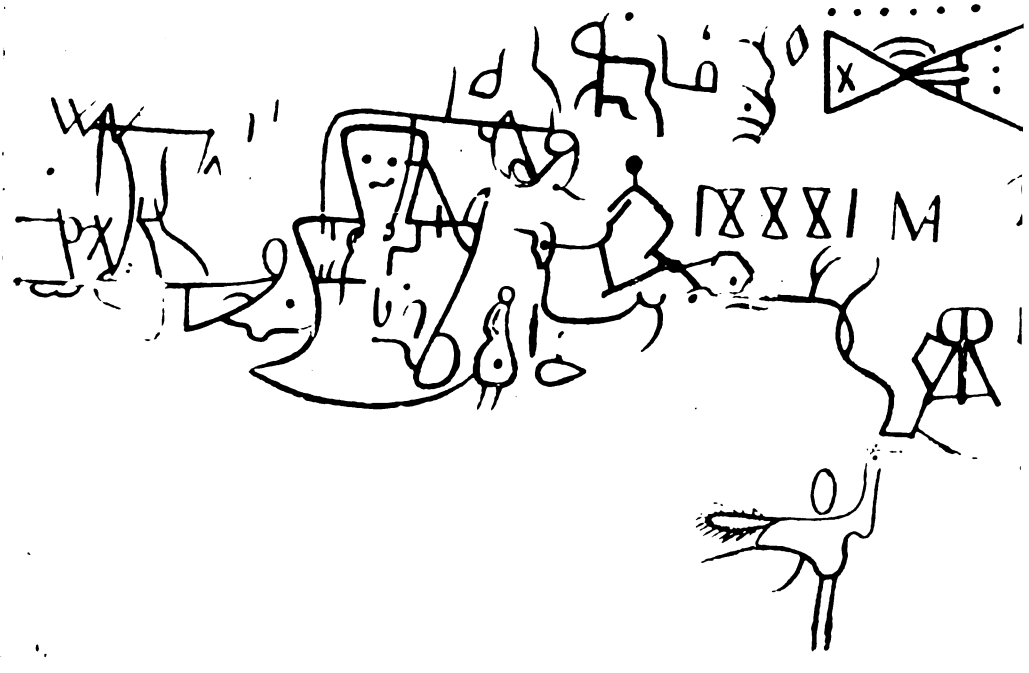

BAYLIES-SMITH-WEST-GOODING-BAYLIES

DRAWING OF 1789. SM

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORI

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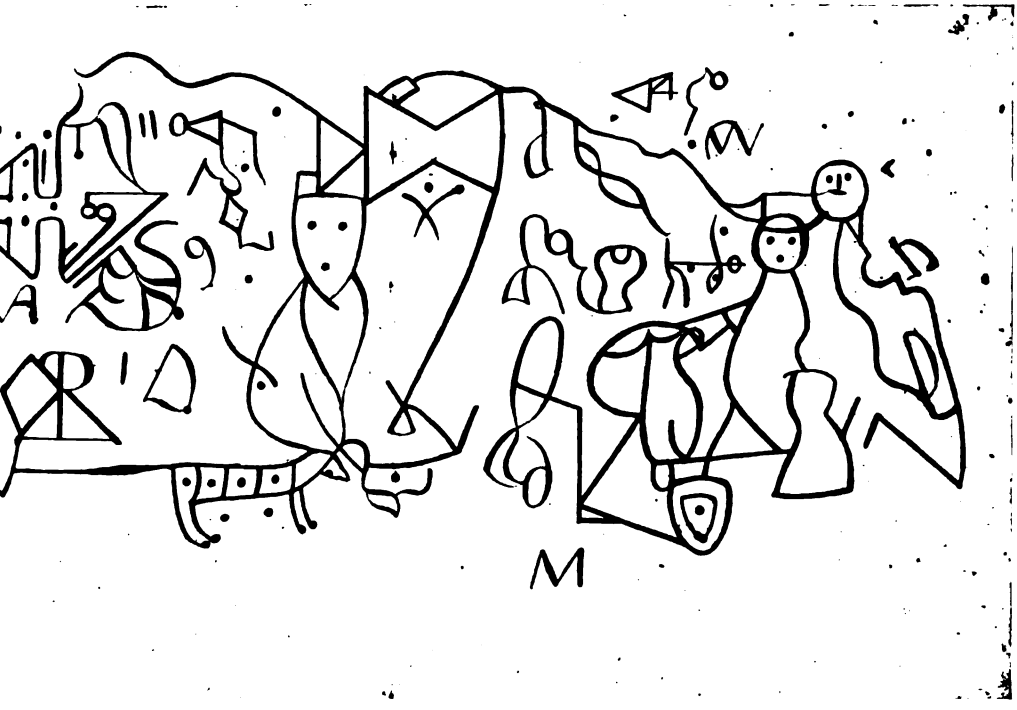

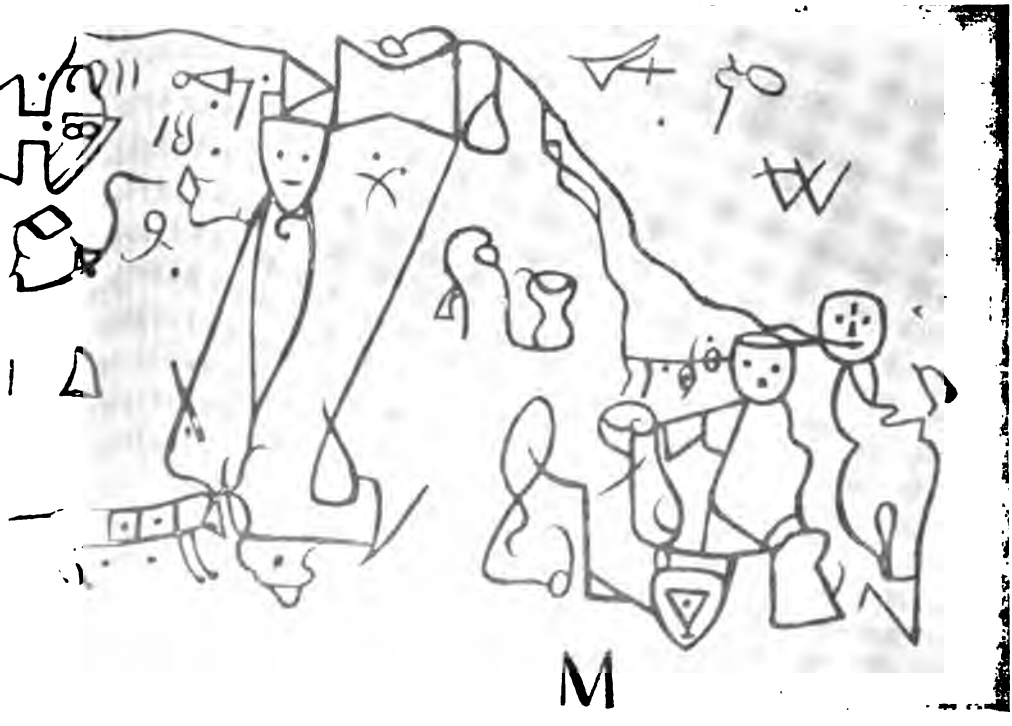

; DRAWING, 1789, SMITH-STILES COPY

MITH-UPHAM COPY

GINALS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Mr. Harris furnished him with "many curious letters" (alphabetic characters); and this fact seems to make it finally clear that, in spite of the allusion to the Ohio rocks, Samuel was the Harris he spoke of in the passage quoted. This is of importance only in that it is the only indication as to the approximate date of Samuel Harris's interest in Dighton Rock.

We learn more concerning him in the laudatory notices which appeared on the occasion of his untimely death. Accounts of it are given in the Columbian Centinel of Boston,[1] and in the Harvard Lyceum.[2] It appears that he entered college at the age of twenty-five as a Junior Sophister in 1808, after only thirteen months of preparation.[3] "His attachment to oriental literature began beyond his own remembrance. . . . He made notes of all curious facts. At the age of 16, he had amassed an incredible number of manuscripts." He had read everything accessible in ten Asiatic languages, and had a moderate acquaintance with others; was perfect in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and could read other European languages. He was "a philosophical linguist, an accurate philologist, a complete historian, a profound antiquary, a perfect mythologist." As an antiquary, his "researches were almost unbounded and inconceivable." He left behind an "immense mass of manuscripts. . . . Among his papers, there are some facts respecting American antiquities, which are peculiarly valuable, and whose loss would probably be irretrievable."

It was this extraordinary being, too learned for full credence in his inconceivable attainments, who was to make luminous the long veiled mystery of the Dighton message. I am sorry to say that the result will disappoint us. All that has been reported of his actual views is given in the following passage from Kendall:

A Hebrew scholar, in Boston, has made a drawing from Mr. Winthrop's drawing, (for the rock he has not seen,) in which he shows that

[1] July 11, 1810, p. 2/3–4.

[2] For July 28, 1810, pp. 33–41. The quoted passages below are taken from this source.

[3] The following entry, under date of October 3, 1808, is taken from the Faculty Records:

Samuel Harris of Boston, aged 25 years May 12, 1808, having been examined as a candidate for the Junior Class,

Voted, that the said Harris be accepted for the said Class; and that he be required to pay into the College Treasury $120 for advanced standing (viii. 155).

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one of the figures is a king; another, his throne and canopy; a third a priest; a fourth an idol, a fifth a foreign ambassador, &c. and, in the intervening parts, he points out Hebrew characters, composing words, which words explain the figures; as *the king — the priest — the idol.* . . . A single glance at the rock would have robbed him of all disposition to support the hypothesis.[1]

To this we can add only the statement made by Edward Everett, while Governor of Massachusetts, in a review of the Antiquitates Americanæ, to the effect that "the late Mr. Samuel Harris, of this city, a very learned Orientalist, thought he found the Hebrew word *melek* (king) in those characters, which the editor of the work before us regards as numerals signifying CXXXI."[2]

In the Library of Harvard University are preserved all that are known of the manuscripts left by Harris. The papers on American antiquities, considered as so precious by the writer in the Lyceum, are not among them. There can be found only one sheet which offers any clue at all that might aid in the attempt to view the inscription through Harris's eyes.[3] We need not entertain any thought of a possibility that Harris's theory is correct; and yet we cannot be content to leave it without doing our best sympathetically to understand it and to see what he thought he saw. Consequently I have studied this sheet with much care. It contains a column of characters that are labelled "American," and that have been copied from such parts of Winthrop's reproduction as might be thought to have an alphabetical value. It is evident that Harris regarded them as ancient Phœnician forms of Hebrew letters. At first sight the list does not give much promise of being serviceable to us; and I could make nothing of it until it occurred to me that it might be arranged in alphabetical order. In this case, the first character, resembling an x, would be Aleph; the last, presented in the two forms N and T, would be Tau. With this as a starting point, and assuming that wherever two or three forms are given together they are to be taken as variants of one letter, I assigned a plausible value to each of the characters in Harris's list, by comparing it with tables of ancient forms of Hebrew letters given in a book nearly contemporary with

[1] Travels, ii. 219 ff.

[2] North American Review, 1838, xlvi. 188.

[3] See Plate XXVII. Professor Kittredge searched among the papers and discovered this one for me. It is numbered "MS Am 747 F."

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Harris,[1] and with such lists of Phœnician characters as Harris himself had compiled,[2] two of which are "Palmyrine" and may possibly

[1] Kopp's Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit, 1821, ii. 377–398.

[2] These were found for me by Professor Kittredge. He describes and comments upon them as follows:

In Vol. II of the Harris MSS (H. C. Library, MS Am 746 F, II) there are eleven such alphabets. I append a list:

(1) Fol. 16. Column headed "Phenician Hebr &c which are not in my lists ut credo Astle" [i. e. Thos. Astle, The Origin and Progress of Writing, London, 1803, Tab. I, opp. p. 64. Astle heads the list of symbols (which H. hasn't copied entire): "Phœnicium Hebr: antiq: sive Samaritanum."]

(2) Fol. 16. Column headed "Punic." [Source not given, — but the alphabet is practically identical with the column headed "Punicum" in the plate of Astle just referred to. Astle is certainly the source.]

(3) Fol. 18. Column headed "Palmyran Barthelemi." [I. e. the celebrated Academician l'abbé Jean Jacques Barthélemy, author of Le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. This alphabet occurs (1) in Barthélemy's paper "Réflexions sur l'alphabet et sur la langue dont on se servoit autrefois à Palmyre," Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, XXVI, pl. 1, opp. p. 596; (2) from Barthélemy in the French Encyclopédie, Recueil de Planches, II, pt. i, 1763, plate V (6). Of the first of these, the essay is republished in his Œuvres, Paris, 1821, IV. 19 ff, and the alphabet is in the Atlas des Œuvres Complètes de J. J. Barthélemy, Paris, 1822, pl. 2.]

(4) Fol. 18. Column headed "Phœnician or Ionic Duret." [This is from a plate on p. 336 of Claude Duret's Thresor de l'Histoire des Langves de cest Vnivers, Iverdon, 1619.]

(5) Fol. 18. Column headed "Phœnician . . . Spanheim." At the foot of the column H. has written "See Postellus." [I haven't found this alphabet in any work of either of the well-known Spanheims. The same thing, however, is found in Guillaume Postel's De Poenicorum Literis, Paris, 1552, first plate. The book was in H. C. Library in Harris's day, having been given to us by Thos. Hollis in the 18th century.]

(6) Fol. 18. Column headed "Phœnician frō inscrip in Malta & medals Barthelemy." [This is either from Barthélemy's pl. IV (1) in his paper "Réflexions sur quelques monumens phéniciens, et sur les alphabets qui en résultent," Mém. Acad. des Inscriptions, xxx. 405–427 (also in Œuvres, IV, 40 ff., and in Atlas, pl. 8 (1)), or from the copy of his alphabet in Encyclopédie, as above, plate V (2) — I think from the latter.]

(7) Fol. 18. Column headed "Phœnician from Sicilian coins . . . Barthelemy." [Either from same monograph, plate IV (2) — see also Atlas, plate 8 (2) — or from the reproduction in Encyclopédie, as above, pl. V (3).]

(8) Fol. 18. Column headed "From inscription in Cyprus Pocock Fr Encyclo." [This might be from same monograph of Barthélemy, pl. IV (3) — see also Atlas, plate 8 (3) — or from Encyclopédie, as above, pl. V (4), but H. credits it to the latter.]

(9) Fol. 18. Column headed "from an inscrip lately at Malta Ency Franc." [From Encyclopédie, as above, pl. V (5) — see also Atlas, plate 22.]

(10) Fol. 18. Column headed "By Revd S. Henley from coins &ca." [From

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be the ones to which Bentley referred. Five letters of the Hebrew alphabet were of course left out, as the list is that much short of completeness. Then I looked into a Hebrew lexicon [1] for equivalents of the words that Harris was reported to have found. Among them, the following were given: for ambassador, ʿBD or ShLCh (to be sent); for idol, TzYR; for priest, KHN; for king, MLK. In my table of equivalents, the Y or yod is omitted, hence TzYR would become TzR; the B is like a figure 9; D like 4 and the other character with it on the list; H like the inverted F; K like 6; L like L or V (and also like inverted forms of these, in some of the variants given by Kopp); M like M; N like the next following character, an O with a vertical line above it, or a lower case d; ʿ(Ayin) has three forms, one an outline cross; Tz is somewhat like Y; R like the third character from the bottom, an O with a vertical line running downward from it; Sh like the trident; and Ch probably like the eighth character from the top, immediately above the 6.

If now we examine the Winthrop drawing, we shall find at its extreme left the cross form of Ayin; a little below and rightward, two curved lines that might be regarded as imperfectly formed 9's, and thus two B's; and to the right of them the two forms of the letter D. If we assume that the ancient artists might write their words indifferently either right to left or left to right, this may be read ʿBD, ʿBD, "ambassadors;" and the two human figures at the extreme right will doubtless be their portraits. The other name for ambassador may also be found, if one is good-natured enough to overlook its

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Samuel Henley's Observations on the Subject of the Fourth Eclogue, the Allegory in the Third Georgic, and the Primary Design of the Aeneid of Virgil: with incidental Remarks on some Coins of the Jews, London, 1788.]

(11) Fol. 24. Column headed "Palmyrene" and credited to "Universal Magazine july 1755."

Barthélemy's two memoirs were accessible to Harris, for vols. 26 and 30 are in a set given us by Jasper Mauduit of London in 1768. The set of the Encyclopédie referred to was given to us by Thos. Lee of Cambridge, Mass., in 1784. I am not sure that Duret was in our library in Harris's time. Harris must also have had access to the Rev. John Swinton's papers on Phœnician in Philosophical Transactions, vols. 50 and 54, for these volumes were given to us by Thos. Hollis in the 18th century.

[1] An English-Hebrew Lexicon, being a complete verbal Index to Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon as translated by Prof. Edward Robinson, D.D., Prepared by J. L. Potter, A.M., 1872.

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inexplicable dismemberment, in the trident (Sh) near the right-hand upper end, the L to the left of the head of the seated figure, and the character for Ch just below the L. The large human figure at the left represents the idol; and leftward near its head we find unmistakably the letters TzR, "idol." The small human figure at its feet is the priest. To the right of him is an O with a short vertical line considerably above it, which together may be an N; the inverted F is an H; and a 6 or K with triangular body can be separated out of the complex figure next to the right. Thus we may possibly have here a very poorly formed KHN, "the priest." Near the centre of the drawing is a clear M; to its left, a sort of inverted V or L; and next leftwards, with its lines running on unnecessarily into other figures, a 6 with square body, or K. This is probably the word that Harris interpreted as meaning "Melek," king. The human figure rightward from it is doubtless the king himself. Above his head is a combination of triangular figures, easily taken as representing the canopy; and lines running downward from it, terminating in a sort of seat, form the throne. The king appears to stand in front of the throne, under the canopy. If wide separation of letters counts for nothing, a much more satisfactory MLK can be found in the same M, an L below it, and a perfectly formed 6 much below that.

I find no other plausible combinations that might be taken as Hebrew words. What I have given are rudely drawn, and their interpretation far fetched. It may well be that, having no knowledge whatever on this subject except such as an unskilled amateur may readily glean from a very superficial examination of a Hebrew lexicon and a few lists of ancient characters, I may have failed to reproduce the vision of Samuel Harris. Nevertheless, I can find nothing else whatever on Winthrop's representation that I can twist into any resemblance to Harris's ideas; and I have found in a fairly plausible manner all the words that he is reported to have seen and all the symbolic figures that he is reported to have interpreted. I offer this, therefore, for what it may be worth, as a serious and detailed reconstruction of what Harris is said to have seen. With knowledge of so many other highly fanciful readings of the stone's mysterious message that have been seriously advanced both before and after this one, I do not hesitate to believe that Harris would have been capable of advocating such a one as I have given. But

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we must agree, of course, with Kendall's judgment that there is no soundness in it. It is merely a psychological curiosity, and as such deserves our best attempt at restoration. It is regrettable that Harris's own exposition of it cannot be found, for that would be interesting reading.

EDWARD A. KENDALL, 1807

In 1807 and the following year there travelled through the northern part of the United States an Englishman, Edward Augustus Kendall, whose intelligent observations on what he saw were embodied in a three-volume description of his travels. He was particularly interested in sculptured rocks, several of which he personally inspected; and to Dighton Rock he made several successive visits. His conclusions concerning them are given in a published letter that he wrote in 1807,[1] and in the record of his Travels.[2] In all the history of observation, depiction, and speculation concerning this subject, no one has surpassed and few have equalled this English traveller in freedom from ill-supported imaginings, in accuracy and detail of observation, in saneness of judgment and soundness of argument, in fulness of treatment and in correctness of feeling for what constitutes scientifically warranted hypothesis. Except that there is a much larger accumulation of pertinent facts at our service now, though these have not yet been brought together comprehensively and exhaustively, we might almost appeal to Kendall as a final authority to-day. Moreover, he was the first person to portray the lines of the rock with the faintness and uncertainty that characterize the originals; and consequently, in truthfulness and absence of unreliable personal interpretation and distortion, his picture is surpassed only by the Burgess photograph, secured by a method which was not available to him.

Nearly all of his discussion is still of importance; but the two accounts can be combined into one, and I will further condense it as much as I can. The rock, he says, is an insulated mass of fine-

[1] Account of the Writing-Rock in Taunton River; in a letter to the Hon. John Davis, Esq., Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 165–191. The letter is dated Hallowell, October 29, 1807.

[2] Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States, in the years 1807 and 1808 (1809), ii. 219–232, iii. 205–222.

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grained gray granite or grunstein.[1] Its foot, in front, is ten or twelve feet from low water mark, and its top is covered at extreme high water, to a depth of two or three feet or more. The face measures eleven feet seven inches at the base, five feet one inch in extreme height, and is inclined at an angle of about 60° to the horizon. The thickness increases from one inch at the top to about six feet at the base. The weight, he conjectures, is five to six tons.[2] The base is sunk to a small depth, in some parts perhaps two feet, below the surface of the soil.[3] The color externally varies from dark purple red above to lighter gray or green below, according to the duration of its exposure to the air; internally, it is light gray. The smooth face is due to nature, not to artificial smoothing and fashioning. The lines are pecked in by a pointed tool, harder and less brittle than the very hard and brittle rock (M 165–169, 189).[4] In all probability, the tool was of no better material than stone[5] (T iii 211). The

[1] These terms are both of them erroneous. Recent geologists have frequently called it graywacke, which, I am informed, is correct so far as it goes, but is too vague and elastic a term to be definite. The rock is really a gray sandstone, medium to coarse grained, of about medium toughness and hardness; and can be accurately characterized not by any one term but only by a rather lengthy description.

[2] Elisha Slade of Somerset (quoted by R. D. Anderson in America not discovered by Columbus, p. 21) gives the following measurements in 1875: Angle of inscribed face to horizon, 47°; of surface sloping toward the shore, 25°; mean height on face above ground, 1.293 metres (4 ft. 2.9″); mean length on its surface (not face), 1.768 metres (5′ 9.6″); mean width of face, 3.384 metres (11′ 1.2″); contents above ground, 3.871 cu. metres (137 cu. feet); weight, 9071.023 kilograms (nearly ten tons). Viewing the rock, one looks about S.S.E. by the compass, whose variation here is 11° 03′ west of north. See also Stiles, p. 53, above.

[3] In the summer of 1915, I dug to the extreme base. At the northerly end, the lower edge of the face is above the beach. It thence slopes gradually downward, dipping under the beach at a distance of about three feet, and at its southerly end reaches its greatest depth, which is slightly less than one foot vertically below the beach level.

[4] An M indicates that the preceding statement or statements are taken from the paper in the Memoirs; a T, from the Travels.

[5] E. G. Squier supports this view in the British Ethnological Journal for December, 1848, quoted in the National Intelligencer, March 27, 1849, p. 2. He compares the Dighton inscription with others on rocks upon the Guyandotte and Ohio rivers. In these latter occur iron seams, which were too hard for the instruments used for pecking, — hence not iron tools. The tools of the Indians, he says, "though rude, are, nevertheless, adequate to the chipping of nearly every variety of rock to the slight depth required in these rude memorials. The tough syenite hatchets which they used previous to European intercourse with

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depth of the lines never exceeds ⅛ inch, their breadth varies from ½ to one inch. They are cut *en creux*, that is, hollowed not in triangular form as by a chisel, but in the form of a segment of a cylinder (M 170). They are "sufficiently conspicuous to attract notice, from the deck of a vessel sailing in the channel of the river" (T ii 223).[1] The sculptures at the base, if such there were, are now entirely worn away. A little above, they discover themselves but faintly; while those at the summit are very perfect (T ii 222).

He does not believe that the level of the soil immediately surrounding the rock has materially altered, and shows the absurdity of James Winthrop's claim that the people, by digging around it, had let in the tide upon the rock. "The rock obviously stands as it originally stood." As a reason for its intermittently submerged position, he suggests that preference may have been given "deliberately to such, as were actually liable to be overflowed. . . . A river was the only highway; and a rock, placed out of the reach of the tide, would have been speedily overgrown" (M 178).[2] As to the surface of the rock and the clearness of the inscription, he is convinced that "no material alteration, within the preceding century, has really taken place. The decay no doubt is continual; but it is very slow" (M 187).[3] He believes, therefore, "that this is a monu-

them, and for some time thereafter, cut sandstone readily, and with little injury to the instruments themselves; and it is very likely that the graywacke of the Dighton Rock would yield more readily than is generally supposed to their continued application."

If Squier's opinion is not sufficient, the following cannot fail to convince (from a paper on Weather and Civilizations, by Ellsworth Huntington, in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, 1916, xiv. 17): "The greatest ruins of the Western Hemisphere are located in Guatemala and Yucatan. . . . Consider the degree of ability shown by these monuments. Of course the figures appear to us somewhat crude. Yet one who examines them closely will find that they display high artistic merit. They show a people who were original and inventive, a people who did not hesitate to attempt big things. Remember that the Mayas who built these monuments and the numerous great buildings associated with them had no iron tools, and must have used stone implements."

[1] I have not tested the accuracy of this statement, but I have serious doubts as to its being true. It may be that in some lights and from some near-by positions it might be possible.

[2] Squier, in the paper just quoted, and others have called attention to the number of inscribed rocks that occur in positions which make them subject to being sometimes submerged.

[3] In this I agree, though contrary opinions have very frequently been expressed. This fact, however, does not necessitate accepting Kendall's conclu-

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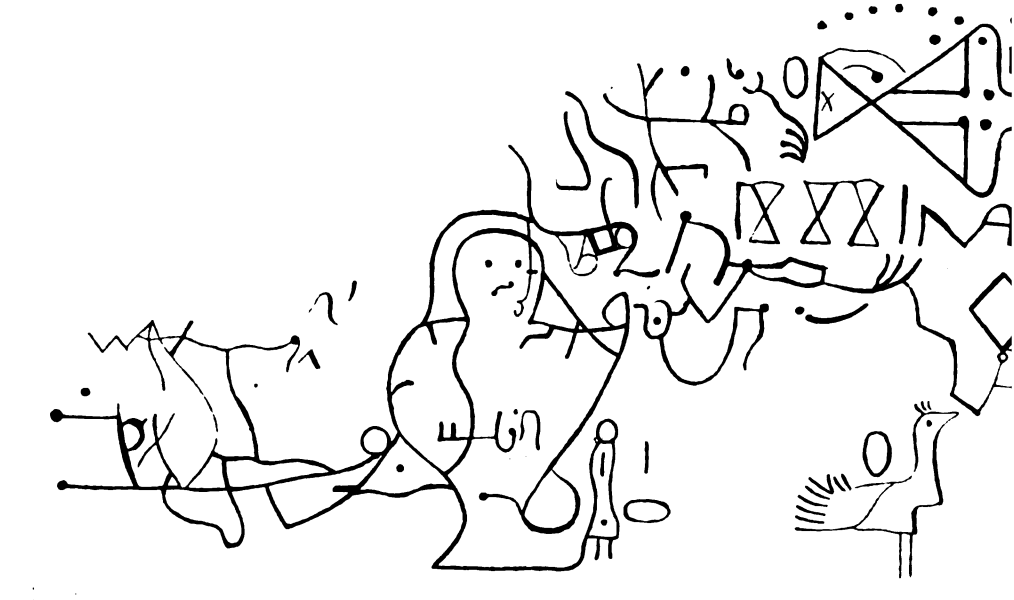

DRAWING OF 178

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSS

DRAWING OF 1

FROM ANTIQUITATES AMERICANAE, 1837, TAB. XII, NO. VIII.

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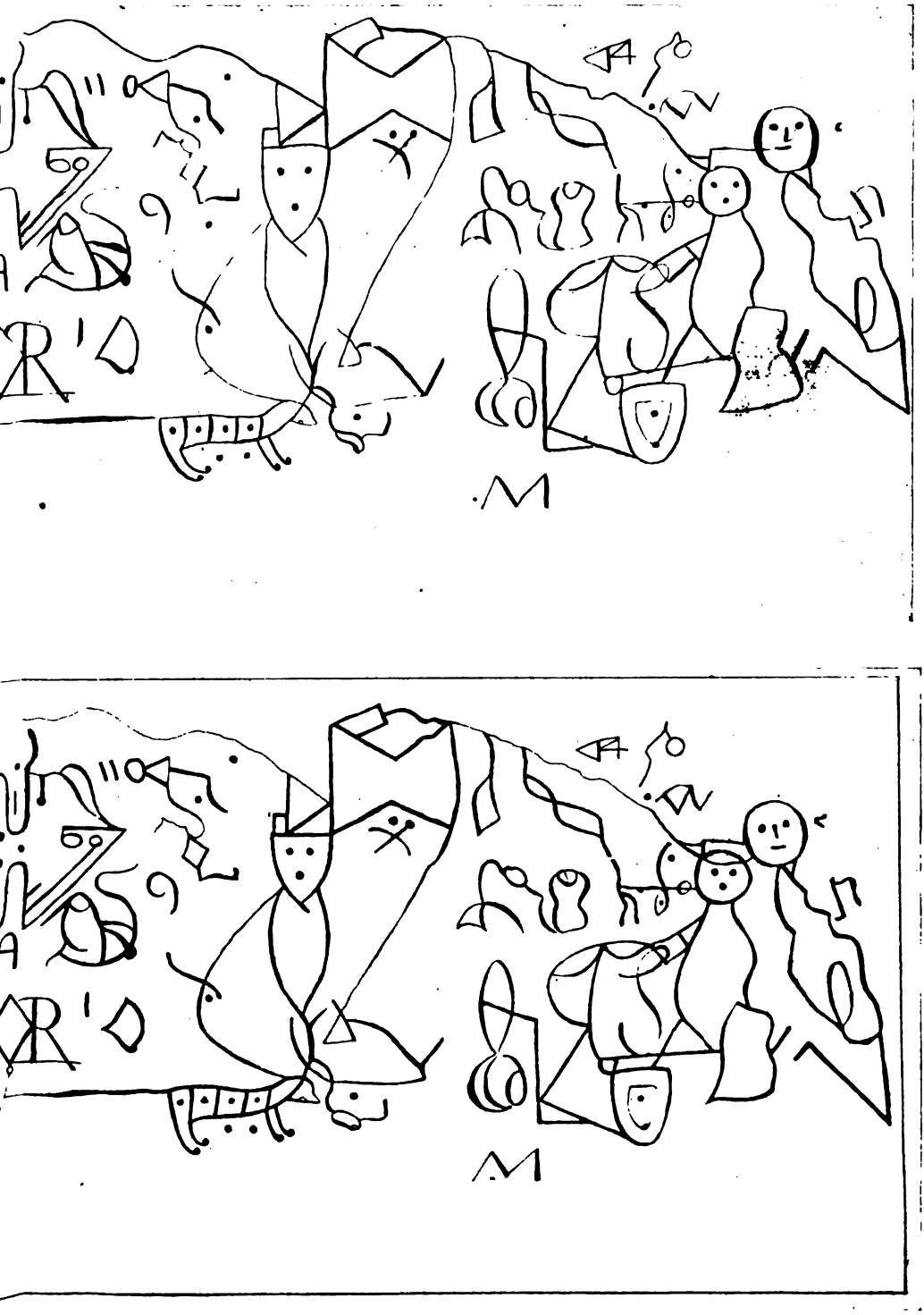

789. GOODING COPY

OSSESSION OF MISS SOPHIA F. BROWN

1789. WEBB COPY

III. ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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ment of an antiquity antecedent to the settlement of Europeans on this continent; and I am of opinion, that it is of an antiquity considerably higher" (M 173; T ii 229).

In discussing the artistic merit of the work, Kendall draws some conclusions that do not fully convince me, since I lack sufficient technical knowledge, and must leave the question to expert opinion. "The execution," he says, "is nothing extraordinary; but it is not entirely unworkmanlike" (M 169). "The figures are less ill drawn, than they are uncouth and unaccountable. . . . The want of will is more certain, than the want of capacity. The curved lines have a freedom not to be equalled by every hand among ourselves." But the existence of curved lines in sculpture, he believes, proceeds "from imitation of the other graphic arts, in which the material and the instrument used are of a nature to give less check to the suggestions of the fancy." Hence he concludes that the design of this rock "has proceeded from an artist not unacquainted with pen or pencil; or at least from one, whose taste has been influenced . . . by the use of those instruments, in other hands than his." The presence of pedestals for each of the three figures bearing human heads also argues for acquaintance with more perfect forms of art (M 171 f). "This artist was not the most accomplished workman of his tribe. I could even believe, that he was without the usual and convenient tools and instruments. I think that he was not unacquainted with works of art, of a better and higher character" (M 180 f).[1]

Of the particular figures in the inscription, Kendall discusses only one at length. This is the quadruped near the centre, which Gebelin called a beaver, and which has since then been variously interpreted as a deer, a bull, a lynx, a leopard, a map of the Atlantic coast of Europe, and the constellation Pegasus. Kendall's opinion of it is interesting. "Its body is crossed, in nearly equal divisions, with bars or stripes. It is spotted. Its head is long and delicate. It wears horns. Its feet are paws. Already we see reason to suspect, that

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sion as to the antiquity of the inscription, since very shallow markings made subsequent to the coming of the whites would have presented an identical appearance. I have discussed this question in an earlier connection (Publications of this Society, xviii. 238, 239).

[1] If Kendall was justified in these conclusions, they would seem to be one of the best arguments against his belief in the antiquity of the work, and in favor of the view that it was executed some time between 1600 and 1680.

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this is a creature of fancy, made up of members of different animals; and this must assuredly be the case, if the line above its back, and which is wanting in all the previous draughts, forms, as it strikes the eye, the wing of an insect" (M 183).

A number of legends having some bearing on the origin of the inscription were collected by Kendall, and are worthy of preservation. The first seems to be a variant of Danforth's story of the "wooden house;" the others make their first appearance here. "As to traditions, there is, though but in a few mouths, an Indian tradition, which purports, that some ages past, a number of white men arrived in the river, in a *bird*; that the white men took Indians into the *bird*, as hostages; that they took fresh water for their consumption at a neighbouring spring; that the Indians fell upon and slaughtered the white men at the spring; that, during the affray, *thunder* and *lightning* issued from the *bird*; that the hostages escaped from the *bird*; and that a spring, now called White Spring, and from which there runs a brook, called White Man's Brook, has its name from this event" (T ii 230; M 182). Kendall found the spring, about a quarter of a mile to the northeast of the rock, and the brook entering Taunton River a little above the rock.[1] One neighbor told him that it was a hot spring; another, that it was intensely cold; while he found it of ordinary temperature. No one in the vicinity was acquainted with the legend of the bird, but another story was given him to account for the name, to the effect that a white hunter, being overheated, drank from the spring and died in consequence (T ii 230).

Respecting Asonet neck, on which the rock is seated, the tradition is, that it was a place of banishment among the Indians;[2] but whether the practice of banishment was known to the subjects of King Philip, I leave to those, who are more conversant in Indian polity. . . . The tradition of the *bird* may have some foundation in the adventures of an early exploring voyage; with another relation, that a ship's anchor, nearly eaten away by rust, was many years since discovered near this place; and with the still more obscure account of a ship's ribs, which lay and rotted there (M 181 f).

[1] So far as I can learn, there is no name now attached to either the brook or the spring. I can discover no one who ever heard of the names here given, though they seem to have been familiar in Kendall's day.

[2] See Publications of this Society, xviii. 244 ff.

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According to some, one of the first English vessels that navigated these seas passed a winter at the anchorage near this spot; and the sculptures, as they say, are of the workmanship of the crew: or an English vessel (as the story is changed) was stranded here; and the rock was sculptured in memory of the disaster (T ii 224).

In our survey thus far, we have met with a number of more or less definite theories as to how the inscription originated. Douglass believed, Berkeley, according to the English Review, was told, Lort inclined to accept, and Greenwood denied, that it was the work of nature only. Samuel Harris seems to have believed, and Samuel Sewall may have entertained the thought, that it was due to the Indians as descendants of the Lost Tribes. Smibert, Stiles, and T. M. Harris held that some at least of the Indians were of Tartar origin; and Vallancey argued that as such they made the writing. Apart from views as to their origin, the Indians were held responsible for it by Cotton Mather, according to Douglass, by Lort at first, by Professor Sewall, and by George Washington; though none of them gave any detail to this view. Others who mentioned or denied this theory will be discussed below. Some view of Oriental origin was apparently held by Greenwood, and was doubtless entertained by many others; it was given definite form in the Carthaginian-Phœnician theory of Gebelin, suggested by Professor Sewall and accepted by Stiles. I have found no one who advocated the Chinese or Japanese as the artists, but the theory is mentioned by Professor Sewall, by Gebelin, and by Holmes. Prince Madoc is mentioned by Stiles, and must have been suggested by some as the author, because Kendall expressly rejects him. Early European sailors appear as possible claimants in the traditions enumerated by Kendall.

Several motives were assigned to the Indians for the sculpture, — though not every one who mentions them himself accepts the theory: that they did it in idle sport (Greenwood; Sewall; John Winthrop); in sharpening their arrows (Greenwood; Berkeley according to Du Simitière); as a memorial of some solemn occasion (Greenwood); as a record of hunting (Holmes) or of battle (John Winthrop; Holmes). Definite denials of the possibility that the Indians could have done it were based by Greenwood and by Gebelin on the arguments: that they were too lazy; that they left no other similar monuments; that they possessed no adequate tools; that it was beyond their skill;

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that they had no knowledge of its existence or nature; that it depicts objects unknown or unfamiliar to them.

To these many theories Kendall adds two that are new, though the first was vaguely suggested by James Winthrop's tale of the search for treasure. "The unlearned believe that the rock was sculptured by the order of a pirate,[1] either Captain Kyd or Captain Blackbeard, in order to mark the site of buried treasure; and the shore, for more than a hundred fathom on a side, has been dug, in the hope of a discovery" (T ii 223). "It is, I believe, acknowledged, that forty years ago much labour was expended in digging about the rock with the view described" (M 179). The second theory is this: "Some Mohawk Indians, having been shown, as it is said, a draught of the inscription, declared its meaning to be, that a dangerous animal, represented by the animal on the rock, had been killed at the place immortalized; that the human figures represent the persons, whom the animal killed; and that the others denote other parts of the affair.[2] An objection to this interpretation will be perceived . . . in the trivial appearance and humble situation of the animal, which it is attempted to make the hero of the piece" (M 182).

Here is an extraordinary collection of theories clustering about the old rock like barnacles. Kendall proceeds to clear them all away as worthless, except the one acknowledging the Indians as the responsible parties. This view he develops and defends in much detail. "There is not, in reality, the smallest reason to doubt, that

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[1] Although the fact doubtless has no bearing on the truth of these legends, yet it is not without interest to note that there was a genuine pirate indirectly associated with Assonet Neck, — Thomas Tew of Newport, who "in point of gallantry was inferior to none" (Capt. Charles Johnson, History of the Pirates, London, 1814). John O. Austin (Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 394f; 160 Allied Families, pp. 236–240) thinks that "perhaps" he was a brother of Henry Tew of Newport, who in 1688 purchased two of the six lots on Assonet Neck from the original proprietors (Bristol County, Northern District, Land Records, Book 1, pp. 70, 71).

[2] I have been unable to trace this story to its source. One other, and a very detailed, reading of the inscription by an Indian expert is on record, — that by Chingwauk in 1839, described by Schoolcraft in his Indian Tribes, i. 108. Kendall attempted to secure an interpretation by Indians, but without much success: "Indians themselves, even of the same language and country as those by whom it was probably executed, are unable to offer any explanation of its meaning. From such Indians, I have in some instances obtained conjectures as to particular parts, but never any satisfactory glimpse of the whole" (T iii. 214).

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these sculptures are of Indian work" (T ii 224). "I am decidedly of opinion, that this monument is in no respect derivable from the opposite side of the Atlantic. I discern in it nothing of the alphabets, or the drawing, or the taste of Europe, or Asia, or Africa" (M 174). Moreover, the existence of other similar rocks in the interior of the country is fatal to this theory. If we look to a "nation more ancient and more cultivated, than the Indians, inhabitants of this country, . . . they have left nothing behind to give a tongue to their works" (M 180). "I am of opinion, that it was wrought on some solemn occasion, or for some solemn purpose, either civil, military, or religious. It may be a memorial, a monition, or an offering of piety" (M 173). "I confess myself but little sanguine, as to the prospect of interpreting, in any minute manner, this inscription" (M 190). This elaborate monument of an unknown transaction is unreadable, as are all historical representations or sculptures, without first knowing the story it is intended to portray. Any sculpture, representing, for example, the Death of Hercules, or the Judgment of Paris, "would be unintelligible, as to its historical part, if we were not previously acquainted with the action which it is intended to describe" (T iii 214). As the main support to his belief, he describes some simple sculptures on rocks at Bellows Falls. "It is to these sculptures that I appeal, as to conclusive evidence of the Indian origin of the Writing Rock. They are too rude, too insignificant, and too evidently without depth of meaning, to be attributed to Phœnicians or Carthaginians. No person will . . . contend, that there is anything, here, above the level of the Indian genius. But, if Indians were the authors of these sculptures, then Indians were the authors of the Writing Rock also. The style of drawing is the same; the style of sculpture is the same. . . . From these sculptures it appears, that . . . the ancient Indians had instruments with which they were able to cut even granite. . . . These sculptures, so obviously the work of idle hours, and for the accomplishment of which the rudest artist, once provided with a tool, must be allowed to be competent, supply us with the fact, that the Indians were able to sculpture rocks, and that when they did sculpture them, the sculpture resembled the sculpture of the Writing Rock" (T iii 205 f). Confirmatory evidence is found in the existence of a sculptured tree of known Indian origin, and in a list of thirteen Indian sculptures in America (T iii 207, 221).

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There were rumors of another sculptured rock close by the one under discussion. Several persons had heard that a little to the south and further out in the stream was a more fully inscribed rock. All persons agreed in naming as the author of this account a Mr. Perry, who for fifty years had visited all the rocks in the stream in search of oysters. But Mr. Perry had never seen such a rock, and on the score of his experience, he denied that any such rock was to be found. "It turned out, that no sculptured rock had been discovered; if we except a slab, which lies to the southeast of the former, within the distance of twenty feet. On the upper corner of this is a figure, resembling a cross, or the letter X, and one or two others" (M 183); the others being OO (T ii 231).[1]

Kendall sharply and justly criticizes the earlier drawings of the inscription. "All the copies differ, in extraordinary particulars, from each other and from the original. . . . It must be inconceivable to those, who have never seen the rock, that these differences can appear in the draughts, without impeaching the veracity of the gentlemen, by whom they have been severally made. Nothing however is more possible. Some of the errors indeed are such, as can have proceeded only from haste and inattention; but a great majority are consistent with the most elaborate but ill directed endeavours." When the supposed lines of the inscription are marked with printers' ink, as James Winthrop did it, or with chalk, as was done for so many of the earlier drawings, and these lines are then copied, "it does not follow, that the figures are the same with those, engraved upon the rock. The chalker is in the situation of a restorer of ancient readings; he undertakes to connect and to supply; but the real antiquarian will prefer the original, with all its obscurities and chasms. An attempt at restoration is one thing, and may be valuable; but a true copy is another. I attempted the use of chalk myself; but I

[1] This prostrate slab, lying apparently flat on the beach and projecting only three or four inches above it, is in reality a flat-surfaced boulder. I dug down along its side in the summer of 1915 to a depth of about three feet without reaching its base, further work being rendered impossible by water seeping in. It is a curious fact that it is of the same material as Dighton Rock, and its surface, in shape and dimensions, is closely similar to the inscribed face of the latter. It is not impossible that the two formed originally one boulder that later split apart.

This same slab, we have seen, was described in 1767 by Dr. Stiles, who drew its characters in a manner somewhat resembling XR.

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found that I completely confused the sculpture,[1] and that the first thing necessary was to wash all the chalk away.[2] The inscription is to be copied only with the pencil" (M 185 f). "The diversities of the copies . . . are not always to be attributed to the fault of the copyists, but often to the obscurity of the sculpture, in which every man will see something different from every other. Under these circumstances no perfect copy can ever be made" (M 189). "Another occasion of diversity in the drawings is the style of execution. Professor Sewall's drawing . . . is performed with a feeble and hesitating hand, and therefore greatly injures the original, in which the lines are bold and determined. Mr. Winthrop's impression . . . shows only a congeries of disjointed members; whereas, in the original, the whole is connected and complete. Judge Baylies's drawing, on the other hand, is finished with all the graces of penmanship, and hence enhances the flow and freedom of the design, as well as the neatness of the execution" (T ii 227). The divergences in the copies cannot be due to the wearing away of some of the figures, for the decay of the rock is too slow, and, moreover, some figures are shown only in the later drawings, others are presented with greater distinctness in them, and still others are wanting in the intermediate drawings only (M 187).

He adopted an entirely new method in producing his own sketch, done in oil. It presents fewer and dissimilar figures, as compared with earlier draughts. This appearance is due in part to the fact that figures drawn in black upon a white ground appear fuller than in a finished picture; partly to his inability to discover all, that some gentlemen have seen. But it arises especially —

from my willingness to leave in indistinctness, obscurity, and invisibility, what is indistinct, obscure, and almost wholly invisible, on the rock. The figures, which are distinct in my transcript are distinct in the original. To these I have given definite forms; while in the other instances my chief care has been to depict the obscurity of the original. If you find yourself obliged to approach close to some of my figures, and can at last arrive at no certainty as to their outlines, I must beg

[1] "that I falsified the figures at every touch" (T ii. 226).

[2] These remarks are especially pertinent criticisms of all the modern representations of the rock by means of photography. The Burgess photograph is the only faithful one that I know, because for all the others the rock was first prepared by chalking.

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you to remember, that this will always be your situation, when examining the rock itself. If, on the other hand, I have sometimes made definite that, which in the original is undefined; if I have rendered incapable of being seen in more than one form that, which on the rock may be seen in twenty, my excuse must be found in the extreme difficulty of the attempt to make a representation of any object, without giving it a shape. . . . My sketch contains many inaccuracies; some in the colouring; some in the outlines and fissures of the rock; and some in the figures themselves; but notwithstanding, I believe it to be free from important errors, such as might frustrate my design of conveying a faithful idea of the contents, style, execution, and condition of the inscription (M 184 f).

Kendall was firmly convinced of the value of this monument and that it ought to be preserved. He strongly recommends its removal, or at least that of its sculptured face, into the care of some public establishment in Boston. Not many years later, both Yates and Moulton and the reviewer in the North American Review, who will receive attention shortly, also urged that steps be taken toward its securer preservation.

The engraving which accompanies the letter in the Memoirs, made "from Mr. Kendall's painting, or representation in oil colours" (M 189), is bound in at the back of the volume, and measures 9½ by 23 inches. Like the painting as he describes it, it carries out his intention of leaving indistinct and obscure what is indistinct and obscure on the rock, and thus possesses a merit and reliability lacking in nearly all other reproductions. The possibilities of the photographic art, and the fortunate production of one photograph among them all without chalking of the rock, alone made it possible to improve upon his result. What appears to be the original painting, to which the engraving, probably, is very faithful, is preserved in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.[1] It conforms in every way to Kendall's description, including the following feature: "The lower corner, on the left, being fractured, I have made use of the space, to introduce a reduced figure of the whole rock."

Both painting and engraving, reproduced by photogravure, are shown in Plates XXVIII and XXIX. With these should be com-

[1] I am informed that about 1848 the American Academy donated the contents of its "Cabinet" to the Peabody Museum; and probably the Kendall painting was included.

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PLATE XXVII

HARRIS'S COPY, ABOUT 1807, OF THE ALPHABETIC CHARACTERS SHOWN ON WINTHROP'S DRAWING OF 1788

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

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pared the reproduction made by Rafn in the Antiquitates Americanæ in 1837, which unfortunately has been used instead of the engraving in the Memoirs as the basis of later reproductions. This one I do not show, but it is closely followed in the cut that appears as one of the nine in Mallery's plate shown in Plate II of my earlier paper. Comparison of the latter with Plates XXVIII and XXIX will show how badly Kendall has been misrepresented to all modern readers. It is not Kendall, but Kendall interpreted and made clear, and therefore falsified. It will be noticed that it lacks the "insect's wing" on the quadruped, which is one of the features that he particularly mentions; and is wholly untrue to the original in that it neglects his chief care, to leave the portrayal faithful to its original even in its indistinctness and ambiguity. Aside from his success in this, what is worthy of chief notice in Kendall's version is the introduction of a fuller set of alphabetical characters in the middle portion, where later observers thought that they discovered the name of the Norse explorer, Thorfinn. Kendall renders it simply "ORINX." Of thirty attempts known to me to depict this portion of the inscription, about 85 per cent agree with Kendall as to the diamond shape that I transcribe as an O; only 2 show an R, 3 others something similar, all the rest nothing like it; in the next position, no one has anything like an F, 14 have an I, 4 others some other character, and 6 have nothing; Kendall presents a misshapen N, and all the rest nothing like that letter; in the final place, all but one give an X. Opinion is almost unanimous that there is nothing there that resembles (Th)ORFINS, ORINX, or any other definite alphabetic characters.

John Davis, 1809

In the same volume with Kendall's letter, Judge Davis,[1] to whom the letter was written, attempts an even more definite and elaborate explanation of the rock as an Indian memorial. He believes it to be the representation of a hunting scene. From the uniform correspondence of the copies, there are some figures or characters, he says, which we may conclude to be exact. "Of this description are the large triangular figures, which appear on every copy of the inscription." They are conspicuous and strongly marked. Moreover

[1] An Attempt to Explain the Inscription on the Dighton Rock, Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, iii. 197–205.

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there are several human figures, and one representation of a quadruped, in which all the modern copies agree. Davis found a clue to the meaning of the triangles in a description of a gigantic trap used by Indians in hunting deer on a large scale, given in Champlain's Voyages. "They inclose a part of a forest with stakes, interwoven with branches of trees, and leave but one narrow opening, where they lay snares." This space is triangular; and beyond its angle they enclose another triangle. Then, with great noise and shouting, they drive the deer before them into this trap, where some are snared, and others shot at ease. Roger Williams, also, speaks [1] of from twenty to three hundred Indians hunting deer in company, driving the woods before them. Hutchinson describes a similar practice: "Besides their bows, they had other devices to take their game; sometimes by double hedges a mile or two in length, and a mile wide at one end, and made narrow by degrees, until they came to a gap of about six feet, against which they lay hid to shoot the deer, as they came through, in the day time; and at night they set deer traps, being springs, made of young trees." [2] La Hontan describes such enclosures, made on an isthmus, between two lakes.

Across Assonet Neck a trap of this sort might be framed with the same advantages as in that delineated by La Hontan; and no portion of our country perhaps was more favorable for the amusement and exploits of the hunter. Deer were, and still are, abundant.

The river, neighbouring ponds, and forests abounding in game, would render this vicinity a desirable and favorite residence for the Indians. To such places, it appears from Roger Williams, they were in the habit of resorting in large companies for hunting, fishing, and fowling, at particular seasons of the year. During the intervals of leisure, incident to such occupations, as the art of designing was not unknown and not unfrequent among the Indians of this country,[3] it seems altogether natural and probable, that some one or more among the companies, successively resorting to this spot, should be disposed to make a delineation, commemorative or indicative of their favorite employment. . . . I am induced to believe, that the very apparatus, described and sketched by Champlain, was designed to be expressed by those resembling figures on the rock. . . . If this be admitted, it gives a key to the whole. The

[1] 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 233.

[2] History of Massachusetts (London, 1765), i. 471.

[3] He cites several instances and authorities in evidence of this.

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quadruped (probably representing a deer), the bird,[1] which many observers find there, and the arrow heads,[2] all become consistent appendages. The human figures represent the hunters: and, without any extravagance of the imagination, I think we may trace a river, with wears across it, for the taking of fish.[3] . . . I think I can see the sort of *noose*[4] . . . and the *log-trap*[5] [described in writings which he designates. He also mentions, as probably a spring-trap made of young trees, the large figure on the left of Mr. Winthrop's copy, with interior appendages.[6] The many small circles in Winthrop may possibly represent holes in the ground, which the Indians often made near pathways in order to attract attention and serve as reminders of important events.] Other marks of more irregular form I conceive to be merely the marks or signatures, appertaining to particular tribes, families, or distinguished individuals. . . . After the arrival of our ancestors and an intercourse with them, many of the Indians were fond of taking English names. Massasoit named his two sons Alexander and Philip. Those, who were able, would be proud to employ their English name, or at least the *initial*, when called upon to affix their signature. I have a deed given by *Wanasittas*, alias Alexander, in which he signs by affixing the letter *A* to the seal. This may help us to account for the Roman capitals, that appear on the rock, particularly in Mr. Kendal's copy.[7] On the whole, I cannot but think it highly probable that general Washington's opinion[8] of this inscription, given when he saw a copy of it in the college museum, is correct, and that it was the work of the native Indians of our country. It appears to me to have been designed to represent and commemorate exploits of hunting; and that the characteristic signatures of some of the principal actors were added.

[1] There is one suggested in the Winthrop copy near the top, as well as the one in the Baylies-Smith-Gooding drawing.

[2] Several can be imagined in both of the drawings just mentioned.

[3] Probably the shaded figure (not so reproduced by Rafn, Mallery, etc.) just above the M near the centre in Winthrop.

[4] Many such are discoverable in Winthrop.

[5] Just to the right of the head of the left-most human figure in Winthrop.

[6] The shaded figure with two circles and free lines running upward?

[7] I have collected a considerable number of Indian "marks" or signatures affixed to deeds; many of them from the published Plymouth Colony Records. There are six such "marks" affixed to a paper testifying that Assonet Neck was owned by Piowant in 1673 (xii. 242). Alexander, and Philip, and some or all of these six, would be among those whose initials we should expect to discover, if any. It is very easy to find, or to imagine, their presence there. But it is manifestly impossible in the case of any one of them to be sure that it has such a source.

[8] Communicated to Davis by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, who was with Washington in visiting the college. See pp. 81–82, above.

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This interpretation by Judge Davis is worthy of more than mere passing notice. Sewall, Washington, and Kendall were the only ones thus far who had adopted the unpopular view that the cuttings on the rock were made by Indians. In spite of the poetic appeal of theories that plausibly ascribe them to some people or other of long ago and far away, we have had to recognize repeatedly that accumulating evidence is removing more and more completely all objections urged against the Indian hypothesis, and that all competent archæological authorities now agree that there are no sound reasons for rejecting it. We need not regret this loss of any special poetic appeal, for there is infinitely more poetry in the developing symphony of the total truth than in any little melody of a particular enticing but unfounded theory. But if the Indians were the sculptors, we are naturally eager to know what meaning, if any, they desired to convey. If we do not like to believe that the rock presents nothing more than idle and meaningless scribblings of various dates, then probably we must agree that Kendall was right in saying that without knowing the exact story in advance there is no possibility that the intended meaning can be restored. His Mohawk tale is too trivial and unappealing for acceptance. Chingwauk's expert reading, already referred to but yet to be presented in full, interprets the inscription as a record of Indian battles. It is plausible enough, but in that respect it stands exactly on a par with nearly a score of rival readings; and it depends, moreover, for its acceptability on the false assumption that one particular drawing can be relied upon in all of its details. Davis's references to the triangular traps and to Indian signatures depend only on features common to all of the drawings, and of all suggested interpretations are at least as ingenious and plausible as any. Yet again we must say, with Kendall, that if there is any meaning there we must first know the story before we can read it.

VON HUMBOLDT, 1810; JOB GARDNER, 1812

Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt makes mention of Dighton Rock in his Vues des Cordillères,[1] published in 1810. The original not being easily accessible to me, I take my account of his

[1] Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, i. 180.

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remarks from an English translation.[1] "In the immense extent of the new continent," he says, "we see nations which have reached a certain degree of civilization; . . . but amid these marks of civilization, and this progressive perfection of language, it is remarkable, that no native people of America had attained that analysis of sounds, which leads to the most admirable, we might say the most miraculous of all inventions, an alphabet."

In support of this statement he appeals, among other things, to Dighton Rock, which, though he does not expressly say so, he seems to regard as a work of the natives. His knowledge of it is drawn solely from the paper by Lort.[2] He says he has carefully examined the four drawings exhibited by the latter, "so dissimilar, that it is difficult to recognize them as copies of the same original." He speaks of Gebelin's theory, promulgated "with that enthusiasm which is natural to him, but which is highly injurious in discussions of this kind;" and of its acceptance by "the learned Dr. Stiles."

> Far from recognizing a symmetrical arrangement of simple letters and syllabic characters, I discover a drawing scarcely traced, like those that have been found on the rocks of Norway, and in almost all the countries inhabited by the Scandinavian nations. . . . From the whole of these facts it results, that there exists no certain proof of the knowledge of an alphabet among the Americans. In researches of this kind we cannot be too careful not to confound what may be the effect of chance, or idle amusement, with letters or syllabic characters.

In 1812 a new drawing was made, by Job Gardner, a resident of Dighton.[3] I have found no description of the circumstances of its production. It appears to have been first mentioned by Thomas H. Webb in a letter of 1830 to Professor Rafn, printed in Antiquitates Americanæ;[4] and the drawing itself was reproduced in the same

[1] Researches, concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America, with Descriptions and Views of some of the most Striking Scenes in the Cordilleras. Written in French by Alexander de Humboldt, & Translated into English by Helen Maria Williams, London, 1814, pp. 149–154. The Introduction by von Humboldt is dated Paris, April the 12th, 1813.

[2] Archaeologia. See p. 76, above.

[3] See Plate XXX. I learn nothing concerning this Job Gardner, except that a present resident of Dighton, born in 1830, when he was a boy knew Gardner as a maker of globes in an old shop on the river-front.

[4] Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, p. 358.

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work. It appears, however, to have been previously lithographed.[1] It is distinctly inferior to some of the drawings that had already been made; yet I find it chosen, without mention of its author, as the basis of the illustration of Dighton Rock used by Ira Hill[2] in 1831, by Benson J. Lossing[3] in 1859, and by Samuel Adams Drake[4] in 1875.

"PRINCE OF ATLANTIS" THEORY OF MATHIEU, 1817

Our history is enlivened now with a weird new theory, advanced "with that enthusiasm which is so highly injurious in discussions of this kind," and supported by no other evidence than the fact that "it might have been." In 1817 or thereabout, Charles Léopold Mathieu published in Nancy a translation of a Chinese poem,[5] and included with it a disquisition concerning the inhabitants of Atlantis, whom he regarded as the carvers of Dighton Rock and the founders of a dynasty in China. I have been unable as yet to discover a copy of the book itself. But it was reviewed in the American Monthly Magazine,[6] where the passages concerning Dighton Rock seem to have been transcribed in full and in the original French. The reviewer says of it: "There are some fanciful speculations, on a point concerning our own country, contained in a note, that have a boldness that commends them to consideration, and are supported by a corresponding confidence of assertion. If they fail to convince, they will serve to amuse." Mathieu's story is somewhat as follows.

The characters used in Chinese numeration are the same as those on Dighton Rock, which was inscribed in the year of the world 1902 (B.C. 2102), "according to the translation which I have been enabled to make by means of the art of reading hieroglyphics which I discovered." This numeration is the same as that of the Romans, who derived it from the Pelasgians, a people who came originally from Atlantis, where they inhabited the western coast of the island. It appears to have been carried to China by that In, son of Indios, King of Atlantis, mentioned in the American hieroglyphs as chief of

[1] According to Webb, in Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 358.

[2] Antiquities of America Explained, pp. 71 ff.

[3] Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, pp. 633–635.

[4] Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast, p. 416.

[5] Le Printemps, premier chant du Poème Chinois, Des Saisons, traduit en vers Français, et mêlé d'allusions au Regne de Louis XVIII. 28 pages.

[6] American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review, 1817, i. 257.

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the expedition which had come there to make a treaty of alliance and of commerce with the Americans. Another In was chief of the eighth of the hundred first families of China in the time of Yao, in the year 2296, forty-eight years after the Ogygian deluge during which Atlantis was submerged. The Chinese, who used these numerals in their most ancient books, could not have derived them from the Romans, who were never in China. History names no people from whom they could have received them. "The fact would have remained inexplicable, had it not been for my translation of this Atlantic hieroglyph of Dighton. . . . The two persons named In were of the same family, as I will shortly prove in a book that I am about to publish." At the time of the first mentioned In, who inscribed the Rock, Atlantis was still in existence, and its inhabitants carried on an extensive intercourse with the four quarters of the globe, thus spreading everywhere a knowledge of their language and their numeration.

Although a detailed translation is here hinted at, yet it is not given in the review. It is very likely that Mathieu's knowledge of the appearance of the inscription was derived from Gebelin's reproduction, and that he found his numerals and his words in the line beginning with the three X's, and in the short line immediately underneath that. Indeed, if we disregard some connected characters, it is easy to discover the name IN in either of these two lines. But this is as far as we can go in attempting to correlate Mathieu's tale with the characters on the Rock, unless we can find it given with greater exactness in his book.

Rémusat, Yates and Moulton, Warden, Assall, 1823–1827

Edward Everett, in the North American Review for 1820,[1] made an unimportant reference to Dighton Rock, and said that "if some means be not speedily taken by the friends of American Antiquity to secure it from its present exposed situation, [it] will, before long, be quite worn away by the river." For the year 1823, we find a hitherto unpublished letter in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, written on February 4th by M. J. P. Abel Rémusat, Secretary of the Société Asiatique of Paris, to Dr. Benjamin B. Carter

[1] x. 227.

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of New York. The writer regards the Dighton inscription, a copy of which Dr. Carter had sent him, as one of the greatest curiosities of the kind in his collection. But he entertains no expectation that it can be deciphered.

Those who have tried to discover in such figures either Phœnician letters or vestiges of Chinese writing, are really acquainted with neither. In my opinion it is very doubtful if any letters or regular symbolic signs occur there. I know nothing that resembles these American inscriptions so much as some sculptures similarly graven on rocks along the large rivers of Siberia and of northern Tartary. Some of them have recently been published in Russia, but no one pretends to read them. It would require an Œdipus to accomplish it.

In the following year, 1824, Yates and Moulton published their History of the State of New York[1] in the first volume of which, on pages 84 to 86, they discuss the Dighton Rock, accepting it as Phœnician. They refer first to a number of previous discussions,[2] and quote Mathieu's account at some length, making the curious error of identifying as one person the two Ins to whom Mathieu refers as living nearly four hundred years apart. They continue:[3]

From a personal examination of this rock in October, 1824, and a comparison of its characters, with those delineated by judge Winthrop and by Dr. Baylies, and from the positive resemblance of some of these characters to those described by Dr. Clark as having been found in Cyprus (see his Travels, ii. 130–131), we are inclined to believe that the Dighton inscription is of Phœnician origin. It is a connected chain of hieroglyphics and rude letters of the ancient alphabet. Of the figures given by Clark, those which resemble very much the letters and figures P. W. X. 7. 9. and those of the triangle and trident (the synonymy of Neptune), are quite apparent. There are also letters like A. M. O. and several figured images. The bird, the ancient symbol of navigation, its head directed upwards, and the circle (the emblem of eternity, or it may indicate here the full period of a voyage), we did not observe, because of slime and mud covering this part of the inscription.

[1] "Mr. Moulton is in fact the sole author of this scarce book," according to Sabin (xii. 440).

[2] One of these, to "Col. Duane's speculations on this subject," I have been unable to discover.

[3] I condense the account, without indicating omissions and other changes made for the purpose.

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Kendall's Pain

Engraved for The Colon
from the original i
Peabody Museum

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sting in Oil, 1807

al Society of Massachusetts
the possession of the
Harvard University

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The copy taken by Mr. Kendall seems to have been imperfect; and the opinion which some visiters have expressed, that the inscription was the work of the native indians, if at least of any known race, seems to be very questionable. If it had been so, is it not probable that similar inscriptions would have been found throughout the country? The present one stands alone. The natives could not render any account of its origin, when the Europeans discovered the country.[1] It is probably the most remarkable relick of antiquity in North America, and it ought to be secured, so that it may be perpetuated. [Here follow references to the story of Diodorus and to certain Phœnician inscriptions which had been enumerated by Dr. Bellerman.] At present, it stands like other vestiges of a remote people, covered with mystery and hieroglyphics.

David Bailie Warden wrote a paper on American antiquities in 1825, and devoted a page or two to Dighton Rock.[2] He describes it; reproduces Winthrop's copy and mentions Kendall's oil-painting; quotes the opinions of Mathieu and of Yates and Moulton; and concludes: "It is difficult to discover, in these strange triangular figures, either human heads, Phœnician characters, or proofs of the origin of the American peoples."

The first mention of our Rock in the German language of which I am aware was made in 1827 by F. W. Assall.[3] He says:

What Winthrop wrote concerning the curious characters on Dighton Rock, over which so much fuss has been made among the would-be wise men of America and France, deserves no further notice. I have seen many of these so-called "Written Rocks" in the western part of America, and the lines scratched upon them have everywhere been taken by the ignorant for hieroglyphics. Their overhanging cliffs served in unfavorable weather as shelter for the aboriginal hunters, who whiled away the time by scratching on their roofs and walls, with arrows or other implements, the outlines of all sorts of living creatures, as well as they knew

[1] The invalidity of this opinion as to Kendall's drawing, and of these arguments concerning the Indians, have already received attention.

[2] Recherches sur les Antiquités des États-Unis de L'Amérique septentrional; in Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Geographie, 1825, ii. 438, 439: Monument curieux qui a fait croire à quelques auteurs que les Phéniciens ont visité l'Amérique. Planche XII.

[3] Nachrichten über die früheren Einwohner von Nordamerika und ihre Denkmäler, gesammelt von Friedrich Wilhelm Assall, Berghauptmann des Staates Pennsylvanien. Herausgegeben mit einem Vorberichte von Franz Joseph Mone ord. Prof. der Geschichte und Statistik zu Heidelberg. Mit einem Atlas von 12 Steintafeln: Heidelberg, 1827, pp. 71 ff.

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how. These figures faded to faint traces, others were made near them and over them. White hunters, French, German and English, added distorted writings, and these in turn were gradually obliterated, until the whole took on the appearance of "curious hieroglyphics." There were tricksters, too, who played their part, and fooled the half-educated American hunters after hieroglyphics and antiquities.

Beginnings of the Norse Theory, 1829; the Rhode Island Historical Society

On June 15th, 1829, Professor Rafn, in behalf of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Denmark, addressed to various learned societies in the United States a request to inform him whether any vestiges of the Norse voyages to America could be discovered. The response of the Rhode Island Historical Society was especially complete and important. A committee appointed by it, headed by its secretary, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, made two new drawings of the Dighton Rock in 1834,[1] and sent long and careful descriptions. These were published in 1837 in a sumptuous volume called Antiquitates Americanæ. The inscription was given a detailed interpretation, and was used as a strong support to the belief that the Vinland of the Northmen was on the shores of Narragansett Bay. Our present account demands a mention of these incidents; but their further consideration will be a lengthy one, and must be reserved for a new chapter in our history.

[1] There are two universally accepted errors concerning these drawings. One is that they were made in 1830, as Rafn mistakenly asserted. The second and more serious error is that the "View of the Assonet Inscription Rock; J. R. Bartlett delineavit" and "The Rhode Island Historical Society's 1830" drawing as published in Antiquitates Americanæ are rightly so named. What the Society actually sent to Professor Rafn was importantly different in both cases. To the original drawings he added in both cases conjectural lines of his own. In the case of the "View" he gave no indication of this. On the other drawing, however, he made it possible to distinguish his own additions; but even so it ceased to be "The Rhode Island Historical Society's" drawing, and became Rafn's own. Some writers have recognized the fact of the additions. But many omit the peculiarities of marking that serve to distinguish them, and mistakenly call the whole the "Society's" drawing, giving a seriously misleading impression as to what was actually found on the Rock. This is the case in the reproduction shown on Plate II of my previous paper. In a later paper the originals, photographed for me in Denmark, and Rafn's reproductions from them will be shown side by side.

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Ira Hill's Jews and Tyrians, 1831

Our next authority is one of whom we may say, with the reviewer of Mathieu, that if his speculations fail to convince, they will at least serve to amuse. He adds a picturesque touch to the variety of theory that serves to keep this Dighton narrative alive and kaleidoscopic. Gebelin and Mathieu had been bold and positive enough in making their "translations," and the latter had even fixed the date of the inscription to the exact year. But our new translator surpasses this feat, by determining it to the very month, and equals Gebelin in assigning a definite meaning to almost every mark on the rock.

Ira Hill was one of those whose waking dreams are taken as realities. The type was characterized in our study of Gebelin. Such people see pictures in jumbles of lines, and instead of then proceeding to dismiss these and see others in their place, as they easily might, the very formation of the first, whether purely fortuitous or suggested by a theory that appeals to them, at once inhibits the alternatives from arising. So they develop a more or less consistent story, and are convinced that it alone is the story that the maker of the lines intended to relate. Though put forward as a serious scientific discovery, such an interpretation contributes nothing to genuine scientific understanding of the subject it pretends to elucidate. Yet it is itself not only deserving of scientific study as a theory, but is also a work of art, and as such sometimes entitled to a due appreciation. It is thus that our Dighton Rock attains so deeply rooted and widely varied interest. It invites our attention now as a subject of archæological investigation, again through its historical development, then as an object lesson in psychology, and frequently as demanding, not scientific seriousness and criticism, but aesthetic enjoyment.

In 1831 Ira Hill gave a fine example of one of these word-pictures.[1] The colors that he mingled on his canvas were drawn from "the

[1] Ira Hill, A.M., Antiquities of America Explained. Hagers-Town [Md.], 1831. Pp. ix. 131.

Ira Hill is mentioned as an A.M. of the class of 1808 of the University of Vermont, in its General Catalogue. He was tutor there 1809–1810; teacher in Maryland; died 1838. I find no further information concerning him. His book is mentioned as "a very curious and VERY SCARCE volume" in the Brinley Catalogue, 1881, iii. 95.

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Word of God," from current speculations about the Indians, their origin, and their monuments, and from his own vivid imagination. The result he hung, as so many of his kind blunderingly do, in the Halls of Science instead of in the Galleries of Art. If we simply correct this unfortunate mistake in classification, which tempts us to criticize rather than to enjoy his creation, we can contemplate the result with as unqualified an admiration as we accord to a tale by H. G. Wells or to a detective story based on the very latest psychoanalytical investigations. Like a true impressionist, he seems never to revise his lines; hence his sentences are not always grammatical, and he is not always consistent with himself. Even the drawings accompanying his text were made with an artistic impatience that prevented him from pausing to compare them with the originals and with what he had written, and thus need revision. He copied his drawings, though he does not say so, from the Job Gardner version of the Dighton inscription. Since he omitted in a few cases some of the lines that are essential in order to follow his text understandingly, I have taken the liberty of replacing the omitted portions by dotted lines in my reproduction of the four cuts that accompany his chapter on Dighton Rock.[1]

We need to survey nearly the whole book, in order to appreciate the setting of his discussion of the inscription. It begins with a description of the world before the general deluge and an attempt to explain the causes of longevity, of the flood, and the like. After a brief discussion of the situation of mankind after the deluge, he devotes a chapter to the first settlement of America. Here he concludes that in days as ancient as those of the reign of Solomon, Phœnicians — a mixture of Tyrians and Jews — were driven to these shores and became the ancestors of Indians. Next he describes the Indians, and then the remains of antiquity in our country. These are all "but *Fac Similes* of what have been discovered in the central and northern parts of Asia." But the conclusion is not that the Tartars or the Chinese crossed the Pacific and made these monuments; but that "all the nations of the earth migrated from the Western parts of Asia, where Noah and his family first cultivated the soil near where the Ark rested when the waters subsided. All then spoke the same language, and if any modes of writ-

[1] See Plate XXX.

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ing were known, we must conclude all had the same characters." The unprogressive Chinese retained the primitive characters. So also did the Phœnicians or Tyrians, the parent stock. Hence the resemblance. As a proof that the Indians of America are descendants of ancient Jews and Tyrians "we will give a simple explanation of the characters found, when our country was first discovered by Europeans, engraved on a rock" in Dighton. "Some have pretended that they are similar to those hieroglyphics used by the ancient Pelasgians. Some have traced them back to the early periods of the ancient Trogans. Others make them out of Carthaginian origin. Some have found them of ancient Egyptian descent, while others have made them nearly allied to the old Persian characters." [1]

In the first book of Kings [2] it is related that the Tyrians were skilled navigators, with knowledge of the seas, and that in company with Jews they made distant voyages in the service of king Solomon. It was a company of these who made on Dighton Rock a detailed record of their experiences. The characters must be read from right to left. The two figures on the right of the first engraving, or page of the record, are designed to represent the Jews and the Tyrians. The latter are the stouter, both in body and in skill in navigation. The Jews were under their leadership or guidance, as shown by the marks at the bottom and from the shoulder of the first figure, which are as trails indicating following after. The Tyrians were soldiers or officers, as well as mariners, as appears by the weapon affixed to the breast of the figure representing them. That they were in the service or pay of the Jews appears from the character extending from the head of the latter, and passing over the head of the

[1] I have found in the literature of the subject no other allusions to some of these theories. The Pelasgian reference may be to Mathieu's speculations. The Egyptians are not named, to my knowledge, before 1838. The "Trogans" and Persians are entirely new to me.

[2] I Kings, Chapter 9:

26. And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Eziongeber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea, in the land of Edom.

27. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.

28. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.

10 : 22. For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.

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former. The dots and cross mark at its end represent the time of service on which they had agreed, "which according to our interpretation was twelve years." The long, crooked and crossing lines extending from the figure representing the Tyrians, were designed to show the long and intricate voyage which the same Tyrian crew had already performed, occupying two months or moons (two dots), begun at full moon (the upper circle), during the ninth year of the reign of Solomon (the 8 followed by the curved line).

The second engraving shows the wandering of the fleet after the new voyage began. Its upper end is the east end of the Mediterranean. Some of the party left the ship here at the point indicated by a short mark. The two long descending lines are the north and south coasts of the Mediterranean, and their meeting point below represents the Straits of Gibraltar.[1] At the right of the upper end of the figure is a much branching line and a short detached line, and these represent the graves or green fields of Egypt, the last land they beheld in that part of the world. The curved line joining them to the main figure is the river Nile. At the left of the upper end of the figure is a small triangle representing a battle-axe; and the detached curve to the left of it is a serpent with head directed toward the axe, — showing that the crew met a hostile nation here. The two lines which cross the Mediterranean at this upper end show that they crossed the sea from north to south, and then returned to the north; the meeting point of the two lines representing one of the ancient cities, perhaps Carthage, which then adorned the southern coast. At the lower end of the figure, outside the Straits of Gibraltar, are many leaves, vines, or branches, indicative of a fertile and pleasant country. Those to the right represent the coast of Africa, where they tarried for one moon (one dot). To the left of the Straits is the coast of Europe, along which they sailed for two moons (two dots). The first detached line here represents the Canary Isles, which they visited. The curved lines to its right and above it are the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and France. The last detached line at the left is England. The cross just above shows their intention of crossing the Atlantic Ocean, and the circle is a sign that they set forth at full moon.

[1] Both Kendall (Travels, ii. 223) and Lathrop (see above, p. 81) speak of the Pillars of Hercules in connection with the sculptures on the rock.

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The third engraving shows their wanderings on the ocean in every direction, without a compass and with much suffering for five moons (the five dots scattered within). At the extreme left is the indication of their discovering land — a branch erect over characters which denote bonds of union and of joy; and they remained four moons where they first landed (four dots at the extreme left). Some of the characters here may possibly be Masonic.

In the fourth engraving, the detached figure to the right of the head (a branch with two leaves and a cross stroke) shows that after their toils and wanderings the two peoples, Jew and Tyrian, united into one nation. The time is indicated by the lower detached figure to the right — an 8 with two marks attached above, denoting ten, and two dots within — the second month of the tenth year of the reign of king Solomon. The human figure is their king. On his breast are three dots, which may represent his heart. A line representing a serpent is in his breast, and its head is inclined to and near the heart, which clearly shows that he was a wicked man. He reigned for three moons (the three dots above his head). Then, at the date indicated,[1] this first American tyrant was slain for his cruelty by means of an arrow (shown entering his head from a bow at the left). "May the example of those who first set foot upon American soil, more than three thousand years ago, be remembered by every American, and that they will not suffer a tyrant to rule over them even till three moons have finished their courses."

Hill's book is rare now, and its theory, so far as I have discovered, has received but the barest mention, and by one or two writers only. This fact, as well as my desire to present fully every theory and interpretation of this strange and fertile rock that can be discovered, must be the excuse for devoting to it a space so disproportionate to its importance. We are not finished yet with such purely imaginative and thinly supported speculations, but must immediately consider another one, and will meet with further examples in later chapters. Rightly taken, they serve the double purpose of entertaining us as poetic fancies, and, as "horrid examples" of

[1] Hill inconsistently counts fifteen moons from the time of departure from Asia to the time of union of the peoples, and assigns the date to this event. But his own enumeration of the dots (dark or new moons) proves that he is reckoning from the time of leaving the Straits of Gibraltar to the death of the king.

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scientific intoxication, driving home forcefully the lesson so hard to learn of what to avoid in scientific method.

In the year 1836, there is mention in the American Monthly Magazine [1] of a stone found in Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1833, with characters thought to resemble those on Dighton Rock. The reviewer says, however, that this turned out to be the work of an insane man, who had been allowed to ramble about in the woods, and who cut meaningless figures upon rocks. In the same volume [2] is a short paper entitled Antiquities of North America, signed by the initials J. S. The same paper appears again in 1837 in another magazine,[3] signed this time in full by "John Stark, Esquire, of Galena, Illinois." He believes in the view that America was peopled from Central Asia before the separation of the continents; and that later other hordes came by way of Behring's Straits, drove the earlier inhabitants southwards before them, and gradually took possession of the country. He describes at length the skeleton found at Fall River about three years before, later made famous by Longfellow as the "Skeleton in Armor." "That the body was not one of the Indians," he says, "we think needs no argument." It may have been of the Asiatic race. "But we rather incline to the belief that the remains belonged to one of the crew of a Phœnician vessel." He then concludes:

> The spot where they were found is on the sea-coast, and in the immediate neighborhood of "Dighton Rock," famed for its hieroglyphic inscription, of which no sufficient explanation has yet been given; and near which rock brazen vessels have been found.[4] If this latter [Phœnician] hypothesis be adopted, a part of it is, that these mariners — the unwilling and unfortunate discoverers of a new world — lived some time after they landed; and having written their names, perhaps their epitaphs, upon the rock at Dighton, died, and were buried by the natives.

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[1] N. S., i. 315 n.

[2] i. 67.

[3] American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, Boston, 1837, iii. 433.

[4] Stark gives no authority for this statement, and I find no one else making such a claim. It may have been a variant of Kendall's story about a ship's anchor having been found there.

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Kendall's Engraving fr

Engraved for The Colo
from Memoirs of the Americ
1809.

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n this Painting in Oil 1807

d Society of Massachusetts
Academy of Arts and Sciences
. Fig 18

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Egyptian Theory of Dammartin, 1838

There remains yet one more person whose interpretation may best be examined in this connection. His exposition appeared a year after the publication of the Antiquitates Americanæ, with which event we propose to begin the next chapter in this history. But for many reasons it seems better to present it in connection with these earlier theories, which it resembles in principle, than in its exact chronological order. The reader may be already wearied with these detailed but groundless translations and think them sufficiently illustrated by the cases of Gebelin and of Hill. But mankind is prone to error, and error of this particular type is very prevalent in the world still. The only way in which such worthless reasonings can be deprived of their appeal is to exhibit them in repeated instances, to balance them against one another, to show that against each one that appeals can be brought up numberless others founded on the same essential grounds that are fully as plausible as it, and that therefore each is worthless except as an interesting imaginative exercise — as an exhibit in the Halls of Art instead of in the legitimate field of Science. We cannot escape the need, therefore, of a detailed presentation of this new theory; and we may hope that it may prove to the reader as well fitted to interest and to instruct as have the theories already dealt with.

We are now about to be informed with elaborate detail that the ancient stone was carved by Egyptians, that its puzzling characters have a sacred significance, and that they represent the position of the heavenly constellations as calculated for the time of the winter solstice, in celebration of the advent of a New Year. This view was advanced in 1838, by Moreau de Dammartin, who published it, though without the plates necessary for its comprehension, in the Journal de l'Institut Historique; and again separately, with the plates, as an undated "autotype Lithograph" — a fac-simile of his hand-written manuscript — probably at about the same time.[1] Dammartin is apparently ignorant of all versions of the inscription

[1] Moreau de Dammartin, La Pierre de Taunston, in Journal de l'Institut Historique, 1838, ix. 145–154.

Explication de la Pierre de Taunston, Par Moreau de Dammartin (Seine et Marne), membre de l'Institut historique. Passage Molière No. 5. Paris (n. d.). 28 pp. fold. pl. 8°.

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except Sewall's, and this he reproduces from Gebelin, with a new numbering of the figures designed to facilitate reference to them. In a second plate he gives illustrations explanatory of some of his interpretations. Both of these plates are reproduced herewith.[1] In order to follow his exposition clearly and to judge of its value, we need the aid of some star-atlas; and probably that of Flamsteed will serve the purpose best, since we may assume that it was accessible to him.[2] It will be well, in proceeding with his own narrative, to point out in footnotes any cases in which we find him seriously in error in claiming that a particular figure on the rock can be found in the constellation named if we join its stars together by means of appropriate imaginary lines. In all cases where this is not done, it may be assumed that he is at least approximately correct in claiming a correspondence. Unfortunately, on account of its minute descriptive details, it is impossible to condense his account as much as we might wish. The following is, however, a condensation and not a literal quotation. I have wished to give enough to make it possible to follow all of his details; but the reader who does not care to do this can gain a good general idea by reading the introductory paragraph and the first sentence under each of the six numbered groups.

The explanation that we shall give of this curious monument will show that it is the work of a nation foreign to America; and consequently that this land was visited long before Columbus by inhabitants of the Old World. The monument appears to us to be a fragment of the oriental celestial sphere, or an astronomical theme for a given moment, i. e., for December 25th at midnight, epoch of the winter solstice. We are persuaded that, even if we are mistaken in some details, on account

[1] Plates XXIII and XXXI. It should be noted that all of the figures on the second Plate are mirror-wise reversed.

[2] I made use of the following:

Richard Hinckley Allen, Star-Names and their Meanings, 1899.

J. Fortin, Atlas Céleste de Flamsteed, 2nd edition, Paris, 1776. Probably a later edition would be preferable; and a discovery of the edition that Dammartin himself used would be indispensable, if there were any occasion to take his argument seriously. Brunet (Manuel du Libraire, 1861, ii. 1280) records a third edition, Paris, 1795. There is a copy of this edition in the Boston Public Library, the title reading in part, "Atlas Céleste de Flamsteed, publié en 1776, Par J. Fortin, . . . Troisième Édition, Revue, corrigée & augmentée par les Citoyens Lalande & Mechain. A Paris, . . . M.DCC.XCV."

Richard Schurig, Tabulae Celestes, 2te Auflage, 1909.

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of the probable imperfection of the copy, which perhaps offers but a feeble and imperfect idea of this monument, which is in part destroyed or effaced, yet these errors will in no way affect the general truth of our explanation. We divide the figures of the inscription into six groups.

First Group: The central and highest portion of the monument, containing the constellations and parts of constellations near the pole of the ecliptic. — The most remarkable feature of this group is the two lines crossing at right angles (1, 2, 4, 5), whose common section forms the pole of the ecliptic, as this is indicated on the planispheres projected on the plane of the equator. One of them (1, 2) is the meridian that passes from the beginning of the tail of the Great Bear and by the nose of Pegasus, a fact which led us to recognize the Great Bear in the seven stars joined by a dotted line (3). The other line (4, 5) corresponds to the meridian which goes from the Club of Hercules to Taurus. It passes by the head of the Dragon (6), separating it from the body, whereas the first separates the part which forms a loop and which is called the second vertebra (7). The curve (8) near the head of the Dragon is formed of stars constituting the left thigh, arm and side of Hercules. We have indicated by dotted lines the disposition of the Dragon about the pole. The straight line (9) opposite the curve of the Dragon appears to be a part of the Milky Way, in which is found Cygnus, whose stars form a cross (10). Beyond this line is a rude square (11) which Gebelin took to be a Phœnician letter Kaph, and which, in our opinion, represents the Chair of Cassiopea, a constellation which, according to our explanation of the origin of alphabets, has been the origin of all the alphabetic and hieroglyphic Kaphs, ancient and modern. The point outside the figure appears to designate the star of the back of the chair, situated exactly on the upper western colure. The point or small circle accompanied by a short line, higher up (12) — the line being on the projection of a straight line leading from behind the ship Argo through the two superior stars, and directed toward the star near the equator, called the thirteenth of the Ship by Flamsteed, and toward the Polar Star — can represent nothing else than the star Castor, one of the Twins, tutelary deity of mariners. Ursa Minor also is figured on the monument near the pole star, by a kind of Kaph which recalls its quadrilateral portion (13).[1] To the right of the Great Bear is seen a space enclosed by three lines (14), which we suppose to be a diagram of the stars of the left arm of Boötes, including that of the shoulder. The star 16 would then be that of the extremity of the hand, which is situated on the meridian passing through the eastern node; 17, the star of the head of Boötes;

[1] The figure does not resemble the constellation.

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18, his staff, whose end is divided into two parts because of the stars of his right hand; 19, the star of his right shoulder placed upon a meridian.[1] The line which joins this point to the other figures is a portion of this meridian, i. e., the part between the star of the shoulder and the one a little higher up on the same meridian at the level of the star of the head. The long curved line (20) is a tracing which, starting from the star of the left shoulder of Hercules (Ingeniculus, Kneeler), nearest the tropic of Cancer, passes through his neck, then through his right hand, near which it ceases, interrupted by the circular group of stars of the head of the Serpent of Ophiucus (21); begins again on the opposite side, goes round the lower stars of Corona Borealis, and rises to the star of the neck of Boötes, passing through the upper star of the meridian of the right shoulder, of which we have spoken.[2]

We notice here that the figure in the form of a cross, outlined by figures 6, 7, 8, 14, greatly resembles an ancient monument in Sweden. It represents a serpent doubly folded back on itself (Planche 2, fig. 1), at the centre of which is found the outlined cross of the American monument. The serpent, symbol of the Dragon of the pole, as is proved by comparison with other runic funereal monuments (Pl. 2, figs. 2–6), commemorates the death of the sun and the birth of the new sun, and thus also death in general, and the passage to a new life.

Second Group: The lower portion at the left of the monument, containing the constellations whose rising on December 25th announces the birth of the new sun: Argo, Virgo, Hydra, Boötes. At midnight of this date the sun is in Capricorn, and at the lower meridian. Aries and Pegasus are setting in the west; and the star Janus, the Genius who opens the new year, announces it by rising. This star is at the feet of Virgo, of which it forms a part.

The most remarkable figure here is the bust of a woman (22), representing Virgo. On her breast is a sort of ancient *men*, or trident, formed by the tracing of the nineteen stars of fifth and sixth magnitudes which command the star called Vindemiatrix, and whose arrangement is shown (Pl. 2, fig. 7). The figure resembling a little bird, below this *men*, is likewise formed by stars in the vicinity of Vindemiatrix (Pl. 2, fig. 8). Two free stars are indicated by the two points above the bird. The head of Virgo is covered by a long curved line (23, 24, 25), corre-

[1] The most arbitrary drawing of lines through this constellation fails to give the figure called for.

[2] The stars arranged as here called for do not take at all the outline shown on the figure of the inscription referred to, as will be more definitely shown in criticising Dammartin's results as a whole.

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sponding to Hydra. The circles described by this curve (24, 25) are the Cup and the head of Hydra.[1] The point terminating the line recalls the star near the equator; for the head and neck of Hydra, including the three stars separated from the head by the equator, form the Arabic figure 2, exactly recalled in the monument. Near the bust of the Virgin is the figure of the little Horus, her son. A point, recalling probably the star Janus,[2] which would be on the horizon and would form part of the constellation called Mons Menalus, would be indicated by figure 26, formed of five stars arranged in a circle and with a tail whose motive is given by the stars nearest to Janus and serving to identify it. Figure 27 represents a rude outline of Boötes,[3] who is called the father and the foster-father of Horus. At the top of the drawing (28) is the ship Argo, three stars of which are indicated: (1) that of the rudder, or Canopus; (2) that of the top of the mast, Procyon, the thirteenth of the Ship, touching the equator; (3) in front, Sirius, similarly represented between the horns of the Cow in a boat in the circular Zodiac of Dendera.[4]

If one traces the stars of the head of Virgo in imitation of the Virgin of the monument, it leaves in the centre of the figure three stars, arranged in the form of eyes and mouth, and also three other stars forming the brow, of which one touches the meridian passing through Coma Berenices. We believe we see in these stars the origin of the fillet with which the heads of some Egyptian representations of Isis are ornamented (Pl. 2, fig. 9).

Third Group: The lower centre, containing the constellations on the western horizon at the birth of the sun. — The first animal is Aries (28),[5] characterized in a very singular manner, as is seen in Planche 2, figure 10. The little circle terminating this figure recalls the double star of the head, which is on the meridian separating Aries from Pisces. It is certainly a poor drawing, yet the tail is a faithful representation of the stars

[1] The proportions and directions are very imperfect, and utterly wrong in their relations to Virgo and Horus. The Arabic figure 2 is very good as described. There is no constellation Horus mentioned in our books. But the stars between Virgo and Corvus could be arranged easily to form this figure; and Allen (p. 462) speaks of Isis, the equivalent of Virgo, as being sometimes represented as "clasping in her arms the young Horus."

[2] No star of this name is mentioned in the books consulted. From the description, it would appear that probably 16 Librae is meant.'

[3] See previous note on Boötes.

[4] Allen, p. 123: "Great prominence is given to Sirius on the square Zodiac of Denderah, where it is figured as a cow recumbent in a boat with head surmounted by a star."

[5] It will be noticed that the number 28 occurs twice; but the one intended in each case is easily recognisable. There is no number 15.

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disposed in the form of an elongated V.[1] The second animal (29) is Pegasus, easily recognizable by the four points alluding to the stars of the quadrilateral. The curved line rising from its withers appears to represent the wings that are usually given to it. It corresponds also through its horns to the horned horse of the Hebrews: it is thus that they depicted Pegasus. The lines going out from between the horns are the continuation of stars included in the river of Aquarius. In figure 30 it will be easy to recognize the foot of Aquarius, separated from his body by a portion of the ecliptic (31). The curved figure 32 is the outline of stars in the lower part of Capricorn, separated from the head, here invisible, by a portion of the equator. Figure 33 is Ephaptus;[2] 34, the Vase of Aquarius; 35, terminating the right hand upper part of the group, is a part of the bow of Sagittarius, of his arrow, and of the meridian which separates the latter from the bow, and on which are joined both the circle of the ecliptic and the tropic of Capricorn. The point where the lines cross at 36 being the western node of the sphere, the drawing below this can be nothing else than a crudely represented part of the Whale. Figure 37, detached from all the others, recalls the Fishes and the bands that bind them together.

Fourth Group: The three figures at the right lower end, not included among the constellations, but forming the three personified decans of the sign of Capricornus. — This part of the picture is of the greatest interest, supporting the above explanations, and serving to enlighten us as to the origin of the constellations, the first elements of astronomy, the personification of the spirits placed in the celestial sphere, the causes of their various attributes, and the numberless traditions to which they have given rise.

The first figure highest up (38) is very significant. It is the god Priapus, the Faun, the great Pan, etc., and, above all, Orion. It is the latter, because this constellation is represented in the Egyptian Zodiac of Kircher by a satyr or faun with goat's feet, with a shepherd's crook, and with a syrinx or flute of four tubes, represented with seven on certain monuments. If one draws lines joining together properly the stars of this constellation, including also the stars of the Hare, the result will be a figure exactly like that of the American monument (Pl. 2, fig. 11).[3]

[1] The author's own diagram in Planche 2 is the best comment on the absurdity of this identification.

[2] I do not find this constellation mentioned, either in the books cited or in the dictionary of Larousse.

[3] This result is fairly exact, except that Flamsteed shows no such arrangement for the stars of the head, some internal stars are neglected, and some lying outside of the picture of Orion in Flamsteed are used.

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Behind the lower part of Orion there are eleven stars, which, joined two and two by perpendicular lines nearly parallel, form the flute of Pan, or the four-tubed syrinx, ending at the tail of the Hare. If now one joins by similar lines the stars of the body of the Hare (Pl. 2, fig. 12), one will obtain an instrument with seven tubes almost as regular as the first.[1] Orion was represented in this decan, the third of the month of December, because the rising of his belt announces the beginning of the year.

The second decan (Pl. 1, fig. 39; Pl. 2, fig. 13) presents a diagram of the stars of the constellation Antinous, emblem of the new sun which he precedes in rising in the morning. The eagle placed above Antinous seems to bear him in its claws. Here it is the Dolphin, which is found indicated above the head of Antinous, as can be recognized by the disposition of its principal stars in the form of the letter N. The two characters joined to the head of this decan by a horizontal line (40) should be considered as designating the attributes of the personage. We see in them a type of Boötes reversed, and of the head of the serpent of Ophiucus (21); but here this type is considered as the symbol of writing, and pronounced *em chai* by the Egyptians. The little mark detached from one of these figures is the expression of a little group of stars situated in the Tropic of Cancer between Corona Borealis and the head of the serpent of Ophiucus, and related in direction to two stars of the right leg of Boötes. It served as type for the sacred nail of the Romans, which they attached each year to the walls of the temple of Minerva; and may be compared to the keys of Janus and of Cybele, indicating the opening of a new era.

The last two figures (41, 42) grouped together as emblems of the first decan of December are the tracings of the stars of Canis Major and of Canis Minor. These two dogs were called the Barkers or Warners. They owe their use in this decan to their position opposite that of Capricorn; for their passage across the upper meridian indicates that of Capricorn and the sun across the lower meridian. These types, so original in form, appear at first sight to have little correspondence with the celestial Dogs. However, if we put on paper in their respective places (Pl. 2, fig. 14) the stars of Canis Major, except those beyond the meridian passing through the head of Procyon, whose stars should occupy this place; add to them the three lower stars of the fore feet of the Unicorn, the star of the head

[1] The seven-tubed syrinx cannot be formed out of the stars of Lepus as figured in Flamsteed, though by using stars outside its picture, a vague approximation to it can be made. It is no easier if one uses all the stars of Lepus in Schurig, whichever way they are turned.

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of the Dove and those of the Olive Branch that it holds in its beak, and then the four stars of Argo nearest the Olive Branch; and then join them together properly, we will obtain a figure exactly like figure 41, without leaving any star unused. It will be the same with the stars of Procyon or of Canis Minor (Pl. 2, fig. 15), to which should be joined the six stars of the breast of the Unicorn, and the two small stars above the head of the Little Dog. The star at the extreme right in this figure is the thirteenth of the Ship, as in figure 12. The summit of the lower triangle recalls the stars alongside the equator, and the prolongation of its hypothenuse serves to discover a small star in front of the fore feet of Sirius and placed exactly on the first meridian, as is also the star of the eye of Columba in the picture of Canis Major.

Fifth Group: the hieroglyphic zone (43) in the centre of the monument, representing the Egyptian formula EM-CHAI-EN-NE-NOUTE, which may be rendered: Here are the portraits of the gods, the divine (sacred, celestial) writings. — The derivation of this meaning is expounded at some length on the second Plate (fig. 16). All of the letters of the alphabet were derived from the constellations, and the ones that are here used owe their forms and significations to this source.[1]

Sixth Group: the left end, containing three monograms which appear to indicate a date. — Figure 44 (Pl. 2, fig. 18) is the hieratic-hieroglyphic group *rompe*, the year; 45 (fig. 19) is the number *ment*, ten; 46 (fig. 20) is *son*, day of the month; and 47 (fig. 21) indicates the number of the month — possibly the fourth, whose thirtieth day corresponds to the solstice. Figure 17 of the second Plate is another Egyptian formula for a date, placed here for comparison.

What I have tried to do, and what I wish the reader to try to do, in examining the argument of each new advocate of a theory, is to consider it sympathetically, and to see that from his point of view the interpretation is justified. Only we must afterwards realize that numberless conflicting views are justified in exactly the same manner. Considered uncritically, it is no doubt true that, without too discouraging distortion, every identity claimed by Dammartin can be verified if each figure, or in many cases each small part of a figure, be taken independently, without regard to its relation to the rest. Sympathetically and not critically regarded, every feature of Dammartin's interpretation can find a plausible excuse for its adop-

[1] This fact is demonstrated by the author (to his own satisfaction) at length; but his detailed exposition may be dispensed with here, as irrelevant to our purpose.

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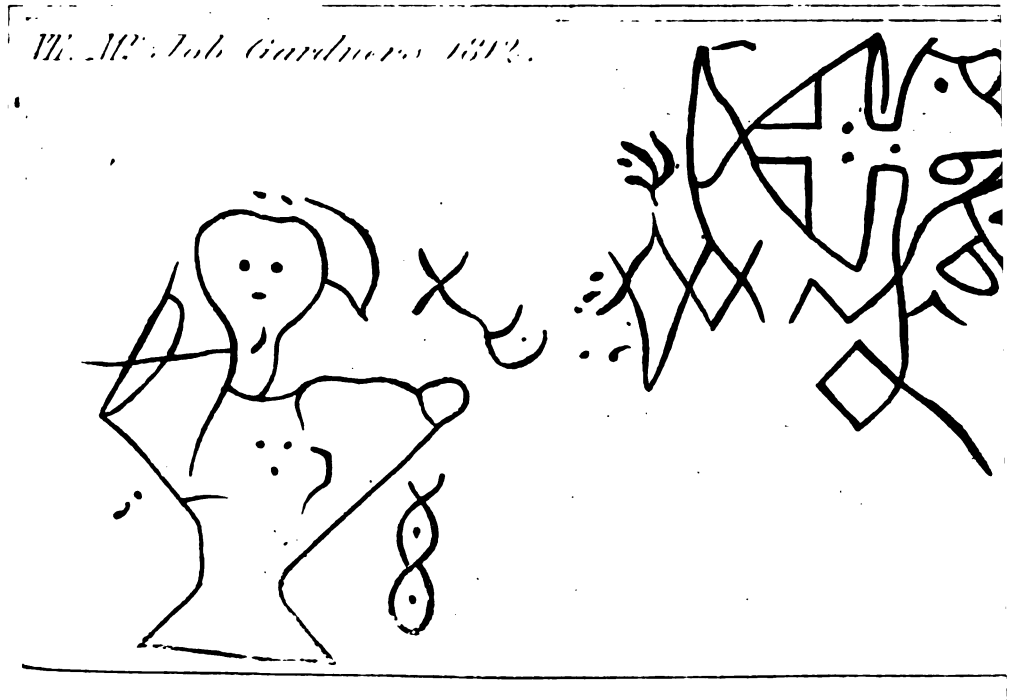

RAFN'S REPRODUCTION OF LITH

FROM ANTIQUITATES AMERIC

HILL'S PRESENTATION OF THE JOB GARDNER DRAWING (

FROM IRA HILL'S ANTIQUITIES OF AMERICA EXPLAINED, 1831

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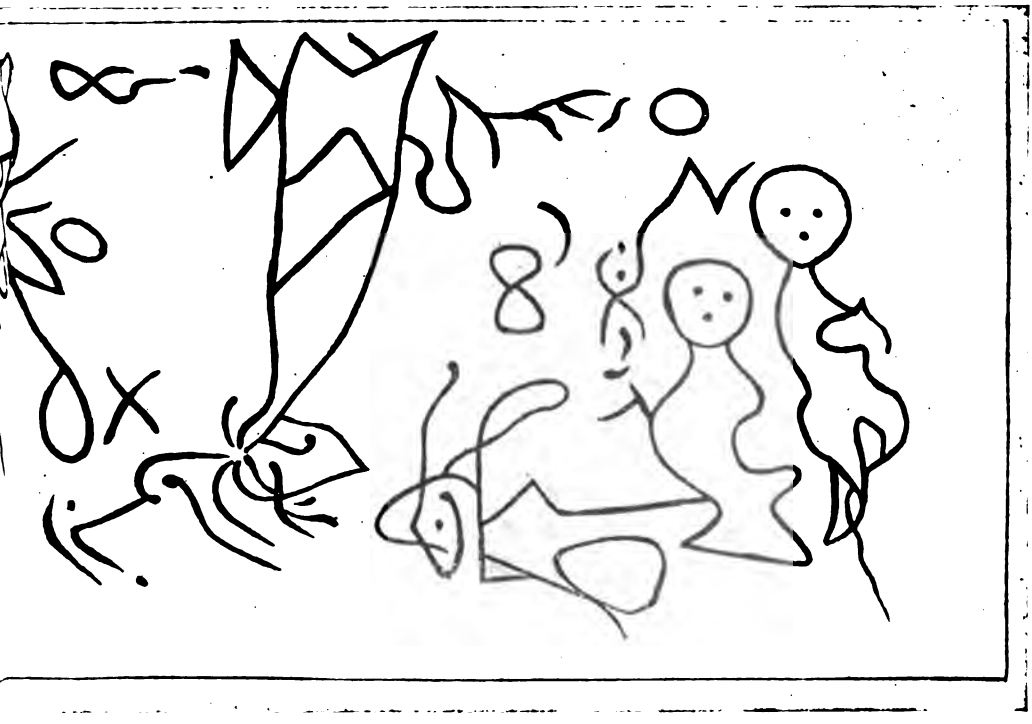

OGRAPH BY JOB GARDNER, 1812

ANAE, 1837, TAB. XI, NO. VII

F 1812, WITH DOTTED LINES ADDED BY E. B. DELABARRE

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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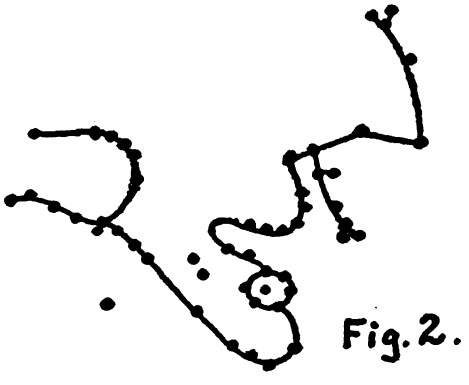
tion. But the secret of such success as he actually attains is evidently due to the fact that any desired figure can be found in any constellation, especially if, in difficult cases, neighboring stars are brought in to make the task easier; and that symbolism is so elastic as to make it possible to assign almost any meaning to any figure. The outlines of figure 22 can be found readily in Virgo; but the trident and bird must be considered independently, for the picture does not give them in their true relation to Virgo as a whole. The upper triangular figure is the worst in this respect.[1] If we start with 8, we find it represents well the portions of Hercules claimed for it,



if we hold Flamsteed's chart 8 with its left side down. The line that goes from 8 up to the right and curves around to 21 must now be found independently of 8. Letting it start at the lower end of 8, instead of the summit of its curve, where it belongs, and turning the book a little clock-wise, we rise from the shoulder of Hercules through neck and hand (but not through arm) around to the head of Serpens, in conformity with the drawing. Now we must turn our book to its regularly correct position, at right angles to the first, in order to curve from 21 around through Corona in correspondence with the curve of 20. When we reach the extreme right of 20, we turn the book again to its second position, in order to rise to the staff

[1] See Figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 is the portion of the inscription under discussion, as drawn in Dammartin's Plate. Figure 2 shows the actual arrangement of the stars mentioned by him, as reduced by pantograph with fair accuracy from Schurig. Complete accuracy is not essential for the argument, in this or the following figures. Consequently, having first made them for my own satisfaction only, I have not revised them for publication.

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of Boötes (18), which is then correctly shown. Now we turn to chart 7 and hold it upside-down (which is upside-down for chart 8 also) in order to get the rest of Boötes (16 and 17) as the drawing, according to Dammartin, shows it. By such means we could find in the monument everything that Dammartin tells us is there. But by such means we could find any desired figure in any portion of the heavens chosen at random.

In order to illustrate the truth of this assertion, I decided that I would find his figure 39 on any chart in Flamsteed to which I might chance to open the book. By pure chance it opened at chart 20, and easily gave the figure desired.[1] We have only to smooth it out now a little, even less perhaps than our author did with his corresponding figure, to obtain a faithful duplicate of the drawing in the inscription. As to giving it appropriate symbolical meaning, we should find no difficulty in doing that, as we shall realize shortly. If one example of this sort is not enough, a convincing plentifulness of others will soon be given.

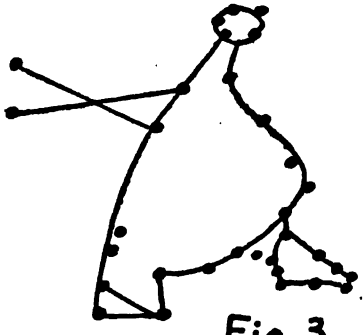

Fig. 3.

Dammartin's theory has such magnificent possibilities of novelty and charm as an addition to our collection, that it is a real disappointment to find in him so much purely fanciful speculation, so naïvely arbitrary an assumption that the particular figures found by his active imagination are surely the ones intended by the inscriber without any alternative, such a careless, high-handed, slap-dash application of his theory without regard to accuracy and consistency, so complete an adoption of the methods of his delightful but unconvincing predecessors Gebelin and Hill. It would have been a satisfaction to discover that, however freely he used his vigorous imagination in discovering desired lines among the stars, he yet refrained from violently wrenching them from their places. Had he been a true magician, and his account of the rock a Word of Power that could compel the motions of the starry worlds in their distant orbs, the resulting disjunction of their harmonious

[1] See Figure 3.

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relations would have led to an utter wreck of the universe and a tumbling of all the worlds into a tangled chaos. But luckily the heavenly bodies still hold their appointed places, and his incantations were but the idle fancies of a truth-distorting dream. His account must be taken piecemeal to give it any plausibility, and we must be prepared to accept any change in the relative directions and distances of the stars in order to force them into position in our figures, to draw numerous imaginary lines marked by no real stars, to disregard entirely the relative positions of constellations.

Worst of all, after we have the theory presented we find that its meaning is too trivial to be attractive. So elaborate a depiction of the constellations should commemorate something more important than the advent of a new year. It does not take much ingenuity to devise a much better theory than that of Dammartin, along similar lines of interpretation. I have entertained myself with an attempt to accomplish this, and it may not be uninstructive to record the result and demonstrate that it can be done. If worth doing at all, then we should select a theory that will be attractive in itself and will involve a wealth, consistency and appealingness of symbolically expressible meanings that may fit all the details of the inscription; and in applying it to the latter, keep each figure consistent with itself at least.

There is nothing in the world so rich in symbolism as is the expression of a religious faith, especially if it be of a mystical order; and the deeper mysticisms or esoteric forms of all religions are, for certain profound psychological reasons, everywhere and in all times essentially alike. We can assign to our rock no more important function than to serve either as a record of some remarkable historical event, or as a chart designed by the enlightened missionaries of some superior faith to aid them in teaching the difficult mysteries of their doctrine to a barbaric tribe. Let us assume that it was for the latter purpose that the rock was carved; that it was done by Egyptians nearly 5000 years ago; and that the esoteric teachings of their faith are correctly described in any convenient source that we may select. There are two small books, one by W. K. Adams and the other by S. G. P. Coryn,[1] that will serve admirably for this pur-

[1] W. K. Adams, The Book of the Master; or, the Egyptian Doctrine of the Light Born of the Virgin Mother, 1898.
S. G. P. Coryn, The Faith of Ancient Egypt, 1913.

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pose, and we need not concern ourselves as to whether they are in any respect right or wrong in the beliefs that they express. Let us allow the Egyptian formula of Dammartin to stand as correct, for it is probably as ingenious and defensible as any that we could devise. But the rest of the inscription will represent the Celestial Sphere, not for its own bare sake, but as an aid to teaching through symbols the deep mysteries of a religion. It will symbolize the Pathway of Initiation into the Divine Mysteries, and will have three scenes: (1) The ordinary worldly life of the Unregenerate, the Dweller in Darkness, the Soul not yet awakened to aspiration toward the Spiritual Light. This will be symbolized by the constellations grouped about the northern pole of the equator. (2) The Way of Initiation, whose successive stages will be represented by the twelve signs of the Zodiac. (3) The Scene of Judgment, and the attainment of the ultimate Union with the Divine Light. Our books tell us that this was the essence of the teaching of the Egyptian religion; and something of the sort is the teaching of all Mysticism. In what follows, we will condense from the books a sufficient account of the Egyptian belief, and of the stages of Initiation, to serve our purpose; and will combine it with our other assumptions.

Scene 1: The Worldly Life. — The visible creation is the counterpart of the unseen world. It traces out the path whereby the Just passes through Initiation, Illumination, and Perfection, necessary to fit him for endless union with Light, the Great Creator. The axis of the earth is for man the prime measure of space and the standard rule of the Depths. Hence the North Star is the simplest symbol of the Universe. But about 2700 B.C., Alpha Draconis, sometimes called the Life or Judge of Heaven, was less than 10′ from the exact northern pole.[1] This star could be seen, by day as by night, from the bottom of the central passage of the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Ghizeh, in 30° of north latitude, as well as from the corresponding points in five other like structures. The central point of the double triangle on the rock will therefore symbolize this star, and thus fix the date of the inscription. The lines that pass through it will represent the meridians that pass through the four points of Solstice and of Equinox, and will thus symbolize the entire Heavens, the Universe, the Great Pyramid, the whole Life of the Soul, the Light

[1] Allen, loc. cit., p. 206.

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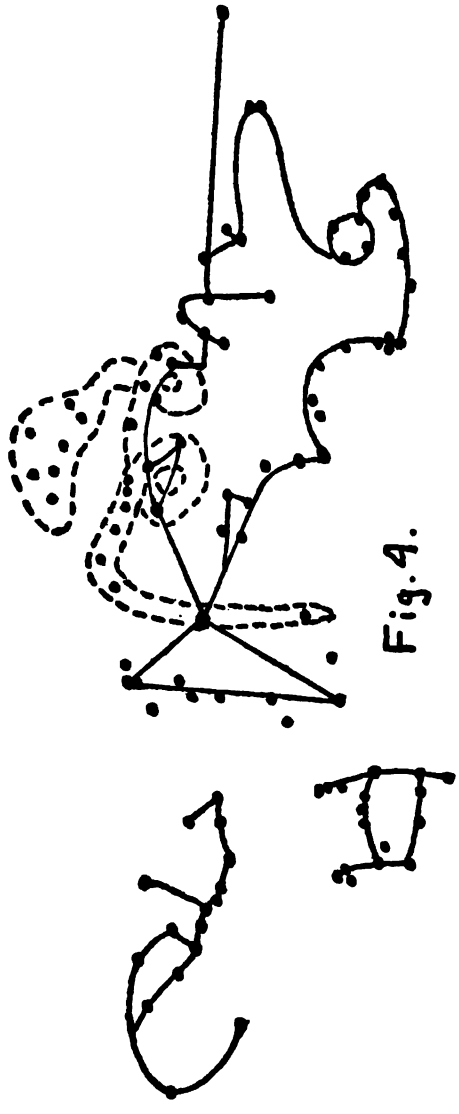

Fig. 4.

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of All. About it will be grouped the northern constellations in proper array; and we can actually fit them there without very great distortion.[1] Our arrangement is certainly far more consistent than that of Dammartin. We obtain it for the most part from Flamsteed's Chart 1, filling in some details from later charts. We follow Dammartin's copy of the inscription, except in a few details. Our figure possesses a unity of composition and meaning, which his lacks: — it is the World, in truth a World of Light, but not yet so known to the as yet Unilluminated Soul. The deviations of the figure in the inscription from this faithful representation of the northern constellations, we may assume, are no greater than would have resulted naturally from any attempt to depict them on stone so long ago.

Scene 2: The Way of Initiation and Purification. — This will be represented on the monument by the signs of the Zodiac in orderly sequence from Scorpio to Capricornus, leaving Sagittarius for later use. It will take no long examination of the pages of Flamsteed to convince us that all the desired figures of the inscription can be found readily in the constellations assigned to them, and no drawings are necessary, therefore, to prove this.[2] A properly trained (or, we may better say, unrestrained) imagination, as we have already recognized, can discover any desired figure in any sufficiently complex collection of stars; and our figures are there, with sufficient closeness, if we wish to find them. We may have to remark in a few cases, as did Dammartin: "It is certainly a poor drawing, yet it faithfully characterizes the constellation;" we can plausibly attribute all deficiencies to the unskilled makers of the rock-cuttings; and our results will be far more unified and consistent and full of meaning than those of Dammartin. As to the meanings of these eleven stages (the twelfth comes into the next scene) in the Path of Initiation, of Struggling toward the Light, the following features, gleaned from our chosen authorities, will suffice. Our choice of constellations to represent the stages is not derived from them. We must bear in mind that the true Mystic can find any desired symbolism

[1] See Fig. 4. This figure was reduced by pantograph from Schurig. Free-hand drawing from Flamsteed gave a figure somewhat nearer to that of the rock, but not so accurate. It is the latter drawing, however, that is assumed in the text.

[2] I have verified this statement, of course, by actually making the drawings.

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in almost anything; and so we are at full liberty to select any Zodiacal sign we please to represent any mystical stage or meaning. Yet the choice is not wholly arbitrary, but conforms fairly well to meanings usually assigned to these signs in Universal Symbolism.

The Aspirant to Initiation must first earnestly feel the need of it, through catching a faint gleam of the Light that creates, sustains and illuminates the World; and this is implied as occurring at the end of his experience with the previous scene, where Light and Orderliness are symbolized, but not yet comprehended. He must then, as a first step on the Path, pass through preliminary exercises of meditation, self-mastery, and spiritual discipline, and become "dead to the flesh," as he has been always thus far "dead to the Light." This is rightly portrayed by Scorpio (46), always a symbol of Death, but also of coming Regeneration. Then he is buried for a time (the mystical period of Quiet, of Silence, of "watchful waiting"), as symbol of his death and nothingness; and thus prepared for the reception of Truth. This stage is well represented by Libra (45, 44), which symbolizes Justice, but also Equilibrium, Light, and Truth. In the third stage he is permitted a vision of the end of his pilgrimage, — of Isis, the Divine Love, the Perfection that is his far-off goal. Virgo (22) is the natural symbol here. He is now a new-born Soul, who (as the infant Horus, son of the Virgin Light and Love), with Divine Strength to sustain him (for which reason the inscription gives two separated figures here [26, 25], both represented by Leo), sets out on the adventures of his new life. The seven following constellations (27: Cancer; 28: Gemini; 29: Taurus, with parts of Orion; 36: Aries; 37: Pisces; 34, 30, 31: Aquarius; 33, 32: Capricornus) will represent the Wanderings of the Soul in the Underworld, the Path to Perfection, until he reaches the Judgment of Osiris. The reconstruction of the Inner Man must be effected, and this can be accomplished only through real and bitter conflict with all of his spiritual enemies. Only by arduous preparation and conflict of light and darkness does the soul become born at last into the Eternal Light. The enemies of spiritual progress are many and strong and persistent, are often disguised as Angels of Light; and each must be overcome in turn. Their number is not restricted to seven; but for the purpose of symbolization, this number may well be selected.

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Scene 3: The Judgment of Osiris. — At last the end of the Wanderings is attained. The Wanderer has overcome his foes. He reaches the gates that lead into the fields of Aanru, the Heavenly Abode, the Union with Light. We see him standing at the portal (42). Here he meets Anubis (41), the jackal-headed Opener of the Ways, he who guards the heavenly secrets. The challenge of the latter being met, he enters the Judgment Hall, where sits Osiris on his Throne (39), and Thoth, the Recorder, the Eternal Wisdom, the Mind and Will of God (38). Before them he makes his eloquent plea of being worthy. But first his heart must be weighed in the balance against the feather of the Law; and this is portrayed in figure 40, which pictures well the heart, the balance, and the feather. It also, together with figure 35, represents Sagittarius, the final constellation of the Zodiac, — symbol of the Bowman who shoots straight to his goal; and symbol also of Temperance, Balance, Equilibrium attained. This ordeal passed, and his heart being declared of full weight, he is admitted into Aanru, and receives the Crown of Illumination (symbolized by $\frac{Q}{N}$ of the inscription), and is permitted to know the secret Law of the Starry Orbs and of Human Lives, developing through all their trials and changes in harmonious progression according to the Divine Purpose. Thus he comprehends at last the true Meaning, Purpose and Justification of the Universe, from which he set out in darkness in Scene 1, as is implied by the direction of the arrow placed above these figures at the right end of the inscription. His conscious Union with the Eternal Light, which is The All, is complete.

CONCLUSION

There is, of course, no truth in this attractive and consistent interpretation, as an actual translation of the characters on Dighton Rock. But if it is not true, then certainly its many rivals, whether of earlier date and already considered, or yet to be advanced by Magnusen and Rafn and later translators, have no stronger claim to acceptance. A full score of more or less definite translations of the rock's message have been offered; but not one of them is founded on arguments more sound than have been advanced for this one. They will be interesting to examine, as they come along. But we shall be prepared to realize that they are all based upon the same

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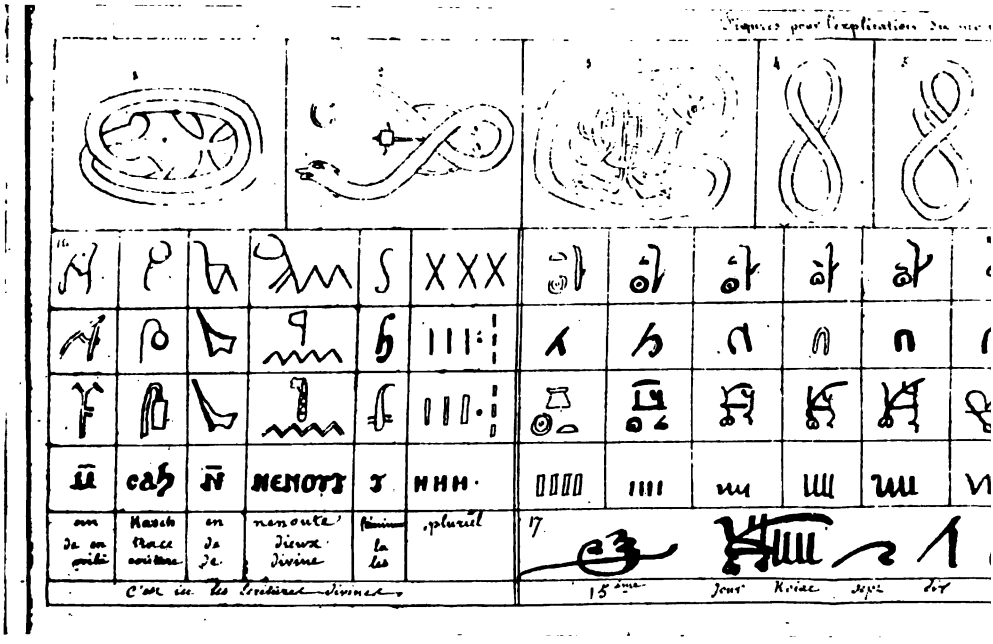

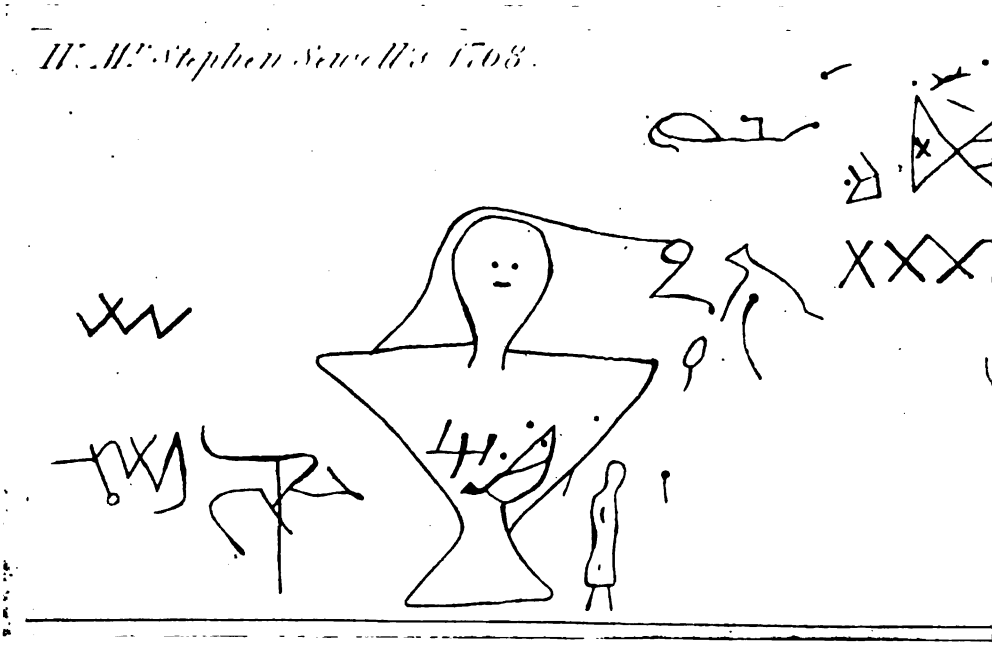

DAMMARTIN'S "SECOND PLATE," E

FROM DAMMARTIN'S EXPLICATION DE L

RAFN'S REPRODUCTION O

FROM ANTIQUITATES AMERICANAE, 1837, TAB. XI, NO. IV.

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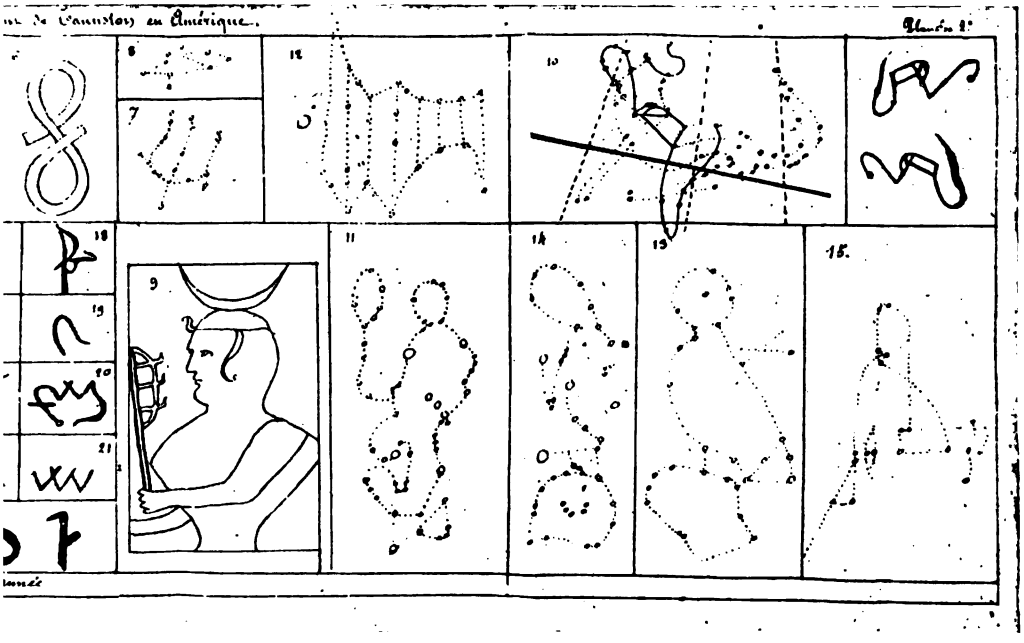

PLANATORY OF HIS INTERPRETATION

PIERRE DE TAUNSTON, 1838, PLANCHE 2

SEWALL'S DRAWING, 1768

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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methods of interpretation which we have in this instance arbitrarily adopted, and thus have no better right to be accepted than this one has. In fact, no acceptable meaning has ever been assigned to any of the characters on the rock; and it is very possible that they never had any very definite or important meanings. If they were not mere idle scribblings, then probably they were made at various times, very likely, though not necessarily, after Europeans had supplied iron tools, and had meanings, if any at all, that were individual, trivial, and unregrettably impossible to translate. Except to satisfy a craving for insignificant detail, there would be then no need to ask for an explanation of the exact meaning, or idle meaningless origin, of any figure.

In considering Kendall, I summed up the theories which had been advanced up to his time to account for the inscription.[1] Our further survey has added to them, besides his own and the two additional ones mentioned by him, only a few more. That it was unreadable, however originating, was claimed by Stiles, by Kendall, by Yates and Moulton, by Rémusat, and apparently by Warden. That there were believers in Trojans, Persians, and Egyptians as its originators, we are informed by Hill. The Pelasgian inhabitants of Atlantis are made responsible by Mathieu. The Phœnician theory is advocated in a changed form, making the sculptors not Carthaginians, but Tyrians and Jews, as Hill's own view. Yates and Moulton also are inclined to attribute the inscription to Phœnicians, and argue that the Indians left no similar inscriptions and knew nothing as to the origin of this one.[2] Dammartin assigns to it an Egyptian origin, and holds that it was a picture of the constellations, celebrating the advent of a new year. Davis believes that it portrays the Indian sport of hunting by wholesale, and contains also their marks or signatures. Von Humboldt calls attention to its resemblance to markings on rock made by Scandinavian peoples, and a Committee of the Rhode Island Historical Society opens the way by a new drawing to the promulgation of the celebrated theory that was destined to appear next in order, namely, that Thorfinn the Norseman made the record in the year 1008.

Besides this last named opinion, we have yet to meet the conten-

[1] See pp. 109–110, above.

[2] Stark is another believer in the Phœnicians.

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tion by Jomard in 1840 that the inscription was made by the ancient Libyans; another advocated in 1863 that it was the work of a Roman Catholic missionary at some time about 1520; still others by Onffroy de Thoron that it had a Phœnician origin, and by Lundy that it was due to Chinese travellers; and the development of a better comprehension of what the Indians themselves actually accomplished. These later periods of discussion will not be lacking in interest. They witness the hottest and most prolific controversies that the hoary rock has occasioned; the announcement by Rafn that aroused so tremendous an interest and so protracted a dispute, influencing belief strongly even down to the present day; and the making of numerous new reproductions, including the introduction of photography. These and other features will render the continuation of our narrative at least not less absorbing and instructive than it has been thus far.

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XIX Stiles's Drawing, June 6, 1767, from the original in the Yale University Library, between pages 50–51.

XX Stiles's Drawing, July 15, 1767, from the original in the Yale University Library, between pages 58–59.

XXI Stiles's Drawing, July 16, 1767, from the original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, between pages 66–67.

XXI Stiles's Drawing, July 16, 1767, dorse, from the original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, between pages 66–67.

XXII Sewall's Drawing, 1768, from the original in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, between pages 74–75.

XXII Lort's Reproduction of Sewall's Drawing, 1768, from Archaeologia, 1787, VIII, Plate XIX, between pages 74–75.

XXIII Gebelin's Reproduction of Sewall's Drawing, 1768, from Gebelin's Monde Primitif, 1781, VIII, Planche I, between pages 82–83.

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XXIV Winthrop's Full Size Impression from Dighton Rock, 1788, as pantographically reduced by him, from Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1804, II, Part II, between pages 90–91.

XXV Baylies-Smith-West-Gooding-Baylies Drawing, 1789, the Smith-Stiles copy, from the original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, between pages 98–99.

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XXVI Drawing of 1789, the Gooding copy, from the original in the possession of Miss Sophia F. Brown, between pages 106–107.

XXVI Drawing of 1789, the Webb copy, from Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, Tab. XII, No. VIII, between pages 106–107.

XXVII Harris's Copy, about 1807, of the Alphabetic Characters shown on Winthrop's Drawing of 1788, from the original in the Harvard College Library, facing page 114.

XXVIII Kendall's Painting in Oil, 1807, from the original in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, between pages 122–123.

XXIX Kendall's Engraving from his Painting in Oil, 1807, from Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1809, III, Fig. 13, between pages 130–131.

XXX Rafn's Reproduction of Lithograph by Job Gardner, 1812, from Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, Tab. XI, No. VII, between pages 138–139.

XXX Hill's presentation of the Job Gardner Drawing of 1812, with dotted lines added by E. B. Delabarre in places where some of Gardner's lines were omitted by Hill, from Ira Hill's Antiquities of America Explained, 1831, between pages 138–139.

XXXI Dammartin's "Second Plate," explanatory of his Interpretation, from Dammartin's Explication de la Pierre de Taunston, 1838, Planche 2, between pages 146–147.

XXXI Rafn's Reproduction of Sewall's Drawing, 1768, from Antiquitates Americanæ, 1837, Tab. XI, No. IV, between pages 146–147.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE communicated several documents, speaking as follows:

In his efforts to secure a new charter for Harvard College, Increase Mather had to meet many difficulties. The tendency during the later years of his presidency to deviate from the leadership of both Increase and Cotton Mather in religious ways led to much opposition to them, which they were determined to resist. The following letter of Increase Mather's shows his purpose to follow closely and guide the consideration of the "Law for Incorporating Harvard-College:"

S^{r}

I do again Return you my humble Thanks for yours of Feb. 6. 1696, which was the Last from you that I have been favoured with. I know you have your Hands full of weighty Occasions; and therefore I would not take up any of your Time with Impertinences. But you will give me Leave to beg your Favour in an Affair, wherein the Welfare of all the Countrey is concerned. It is with Respect to ye College. I suppose I

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had been with you before this; but that it is necessary, that the Governour should arrive before my Going to England, that so I may have his Countenance and Concurrence in what I am to sollicit for. Wee are the Last week assured of his being at Barbados, the Winter Norewest Winds have forced him from these Coasts.[1]

I leave only to entreat, that you would please to Improve your Interest at Court, that the Law for Incorporating Harvard-College, which was sent over this Winter, may not come under Consideration until such Time, as I can be with you, which I hope may be in July or August next. In ye meane Time, if I can any way serve His Majesties Interest here, you may Command,

S^r^

Yo^r^ Humble Servt.

INCREASE MATHER

Boston March 28. 1698

[*Indorsed*] Massachusetts Bay
L're from Mr Increase Mather
to Mr Blathwayt, desiring yt
the Act ab^t^ Harvard Colledge
may not be considered till
his arrival.

Dated, 28th March
Rec^d^ } 30th of May } 1698
Read
28 March 1698
From Mr Mather.[2]

Two other letters relating to the history of New England shed further interesting light on the efforts of the Mathers to displace Joseph Dudley as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and to procure a new charter for Harvard College. Their discontent with the management of affairs of state and of the College went back to the former unsatisfactory administration of Dudley, and to a falling out on a choice of two Fellows to the corporation at Cambridge which had much displeased the Mathers. Joseph Dudley found himself in the party opposed to them, and desirous at the same time to promote the best interests of the College. Yet Cotton Mather,

[1] Bellomont left Barbados March 9 and reached New York April 2, 1698, but did not come to Boston until May 26, 1699 (Publications of this Society, xvii. 49, 49 note).

[2] From the Frederick Lewis Gay Transcripts (State Papers, ix. 28) in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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when Dudley became Governor in June, 1702, expressed a friendly interest in his administration; and it was thought that Mather's letter in favor of Dudley's appointment may have had some influence. Notwithstanding this Dudley was frank in his opposition to the wishes of the Mathers, and especially stirred Cotton to relentless, but unsuccessful, efforts during the whole of Dudley's governorship from 1702 to 1715 to secure the appointment of Sir Charles Hobby in his place as Governor.

Various published letters from the Winthrop papers, the Mather papers, and other collections bear out these statements, and show at the same time the prominent part which Sir Henry Ashurst took in the affair. Dudley wrote to Wait Winthrop on February 11, 1707–8, "every body is sensible how I am persued by Mr Mather," [1] and a view of his own methods is given in a letter from Ashurst to Increase Mather on February 17, 1709–10: "You cannot imagine, nor I dare write, ye wayes y^t^ D—— takes to keepe in ye Governm^t^. I have done with yr S^r^ Ch——." [2] Meantime the old charter for the College had been revived.

Sir Charles Hobby, whose love for gay social life and for military distinction is known, was a Boston boy, the son of William Hobby,[3] a merchant here, and Ann his wife, and was born about 1665. Nothing is known of his early days; and he was knighted, according to Hutchinson, "as some said for fortitude and resolution at the time of the earthquake in Jamaica, others for the further consideration of £800 sterling." [4] The official reason is given in the London Gazette of July 9–12, 1705:

Windsor, July 9. This Day Her Majesty was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon Charles Hobby of New-England, Esq; in Consideration of his faithful Services to Her Majesty in the Plantations.[5]

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 163. Cf. Sewall's Diary, ii. 31*–131.*

[2] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 214.

[3] Cf. Publications of this Society, vi. 86–89, 91; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 437; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 110 note.

[4] History of Massachusetts, ii. 153. For the earthquake, which occurred June 7, 1692, see Calendars of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1692–1693, pp. 651–652, 711–712.

[5] P. 4/1. Cf. Shaw, Knights of England, ii. 274; 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 213.

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Sewall, under date of October 9, 1701, records the marriage of Peter Sergeant to Lady Phips, and on October 10 first mentions Hobby: "Mr. Sergeant dwells at my Ladies house and Major Hobbie comes into his" [1] — that is, into Sergeant's house, which was afterwards the Province House. In October, 1702, Major Hobby bought a house and land at the corner of Marlboro Street, now Washington Street, and Rawson's Lane, now Bromfield Street, on the northeast side as far as Province Street. Sewall records several interesting incidents connected with Sir Charles. He was close to the Governor on many occasions, and prominent as a Colonel of the Boston Regiment, and in the Artillery Company. In the inventory of his estate taken February 7, 1715, there is given the valuation of seven slaves, "Negro James," "Cuffy, a boy," "Morrat," "Mushoon a Molatto," "Jane a Woman," "Lucy a Girle," and "Nancy a Girle," amounting in all to £300. He left also, besides many items of household goods, "eight small pictures" and the following "Library:" [2]

	£	s	d
4 Vol: of Baxters Works in folio	4		
Flavells workes		15	
Kebles Justice		12	
2 Daltons Justice	1	4	
Bonds Justice		8	
Cooks Institutes 2 p^{t} old		15	
Townsends Histor Collect		5	
Burnetts History Reformat	1		
2 Vol My Lord Clarendons History	2		
Echards Roman History		4	
Abridgem^{t}: of the Statutes 4 Vol	1		
A plaine Leidger	1		
20 small books	1		
	14	3	

One interest connected with the letters here given is the entry in Cotton Mather's Diary following the date of November 21, 1703, where he tells of the preparation of his own letter: "About this time I endeavoured several Services to my Countrey, by writing Letters, to the Lord-president of the Queen's Council, and the Earl

[1] Diary, ii. 42, 43.
[2] Suffolk Probate Files, xix. 103.

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of *Nottingham*, the Queen's Principal Secretary of State, and some other Persons of Quality."[1] Hutchinson says that "some of the most pious ministers strongly urged, in their letters, that he [Hobby] might be appointed governor instead of Dudley;" and Savage comments: "Hutchinson does not say, that his connexions the two Mathers, were writers of those letters, of which there can be no doubt." That Savage's surmise was correct, the following two letters prove:

I.

Boston New England
Nov. 26. 1703.

May it please Your Lordship

My Relation to a person who has been sometimes admitted unto the Honour of Waiting on Your Lordship and who perpetually celebrates the Goodness and Candour wherewith you alwayes received him emboldens me to a presumption, which I durst not have Committed, if I had not been so Related and Informed.

And the Consideration which my Countrey is pleased, on many occasions to express for me, Obliges me, and almost commissions me, to Address Your Lordship, with some Representation of my Countreyes Interests:

Indeed, the Generous Temper of Your L^p^, towards the people of those Dispositions in Religion at home in England, which are professed by a small Nation in those parts of America, and the service you did unto England, Yea, the Justice you did unto Mankind, in the Influence, You had upon that Act of Parliament[2] upon which they enjoy so much of Liberty as they do, invites all persons of my character to speak of Your Lordship with a profound Veneration: And Your Lordship will not wonder at it, if they who are not writing of other Business, yett count it Business enough to burden you with Letters of Thanks, and even stiffle you with the number of Roses which they cast upon you.

But it is another matter that procures unto Your Lordship the trouble of these Letters.

The Gentleman who leaves them, is Colonel *Charles Hobby*, a Gentleman whose Capacity and Affection for Her Majesties Service, are not of the smallest elevation.

If there be now in London, as doubtless there are, persons who knew

[1] Diary, i. 500.

[2] Toleration Act (1689), which was introduced by Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, to whom Mather's letter was addressed.

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any thing of *Jamaica*, at the Time of his Residing on that Island, They will Report unto Your Lordship, how zealously he there served the Crown, in several posts, for many years together: and they will mention some Instances of his peculiar Courage and Conduct, wherein he did that, for which a knighthood might have been thought but a small Reward.[1]

Tho' he has within a few months, by certain disasters Lost an estate of Ten Thousand pounds value, he has a Considerable Estate yett left; And the putting of That into an agreeable Condition, was the whole and sole Intention, of the Voyage he has now undertaken.

But the best Friends of *New England*, upon the discourse of his Voyage applied themselves unto him, with their earnest sollicitations, That he would Wait upon Your Lordship, to see, whether the Government of this province, might not be obtained for him: Inasmuch as tis understood, That the Gentleman who is o^r^ present Governour has rendered himself so universally unacceptable, that there is a likelihood of his Removal.

My Lord

It is by persons of the most consummate prudence among us beleeved, That Colonel *Hobby* will not by an Imprudent and Improper Management, cause a fatal prejudice to Her Majesties Affayres in the province.

Colonel *Hobby* is One who worships God in the way of the *Church of Engand*; and tho' they who do so in this Countrey, are One very Little Congregation yett he is of that Congregation.

But he has propounded unto himself Your Lordships Excellent exemple for his Imitation, and he is for treating the Non-Con^s^ with the Respects which are due to conscientious Christians.

His Carriage has been such (and particularly in the Command of no Little part of the *Militia* in this province,) that he is Beloved and esteemed by all parties among us, and he has a general Reputation throughout the Countrey; Even such an One, that Your Lordship will pardon me, if I freely offer my Thoughts, That it would be sensibly for the Queens Interest, to be served by a person of such a Reputation.

[1] Allusions to Hobby will be found in the Calendars of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1697–1698, p. 596; 1700, p. 52; 1701, p. 269; 1702, p. 434; 1702–1703, pp. 38, 168, 609, 641, 649, 678; 1704–1705, pp. 19, 514, 589, 602, 604; 1706–1708, nos. 511, 656, 1186 II. On October 19, 1698, and on February 1, 1700, Hobby was described as "a merchant of Port Royal." On the latter date Governor Sir William Beeston included Hobby in a list of persons recommended for the Council for Jamaica, but added: "though 20 years since, when there were many Gentlemen here, none of these would have been thought fitting." On May 30, 1701, Beeston spoke of Hobby as "since gone off."

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I will dare to assert for him, That the QUEEN has not a Truer Servant in *America*.

He will not irritate either the Councillors or the Representatives of o^r^ General Assemblies, by so disobliging a way of Trampling on them, as to render them Intractable. And yett he will, with an Inviolate Integrity pursue Her Majesties Gracious Intentions.

But I have given Your Lordship too tedious a Diversion.

May the God of Heaven continue Your Lordship, as a Great Instrument of Good unto more than Three Kingdomes And may he multiply the Blessings of Heaven and Earth, on Your Noble Family.

Tis the Hearty Wish of,
My Lord
Your Lordships,
Most Humble & Obedient
Servant,
COTTON MATHER.

[Addressed]
My Lord Nottingham[1]

II

My Lord

The kindness wch Yo^r^ Lordship was pleased to show to me (& to New England) when I was concerned in an Agency for this Province, has left indelible impressions in me, of gratitude. It was a sensible Joy to me when I understood that Your Lordship was returned to that high Station in the Court of England wherein you did wth great Prudence and Integrity serve his Late Majesty & the Nation.

It may be Yo^r^ Lordship will Expect that I should acquaint you with the state of Affairs wth us. I am sorry that I can give no better an account of them. The Generality of People throughout the Province have not the Love for the present Govern^r^ Mr Dudly that were to be desired. The old prejudices occasioned by his former mismanagements are revived. And his Conduct since his being Govern^r^ has in divers Instances been very dissatisfactory to those that have been his best friends.

Prudent men with us cannot but think that it would conduce much for the Interest of her Majesties affairs in this Province, as well as be for the happiness of her Subjects here, might they have a Govern^r^ that should have the Love of the People, the Consideration whereof I humbly Leave with Yo^r^ Lordships wisdom.

[1] Gay Transcripts (Miscellaneous Papers, i. 102–106: British Museum, Add. MSS. 29,549. ff. 109–110 b).

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My Lord. The Bearer hereof Colł. Charles Hobby is a person of real merit whom I can freely recoñend to Yo^r Lordships favour. Hee is as to his principles in Religion a Protestant of the Church of England as by Law established, but of great moderation, having a respect for dissenters who are Good men & Loyal Subjects, as I know Yo^r Lordship also has.

If in any matter, I may serve her Majestyes Interest here, or Yo^r Lordships, please to Lay Yo^r Comands on,

My Lord

Yo^r Lordships humble Servant

INCREASE MATHER.

Boston. December 8. 1703.

My Lord

If Yo^r Lordship shall be instrumental in procuring a charter for o^r Colledge you will bring this whole province under the greatest obligations with Gratitude.[1]

Mr. HENRY H. EDES exhibited a cut of a satirical coat of arms of the Porcellian Club of Harvard College, speaking as follows:

At the meeting of the Society in February, 1906,[2] I communicated a letter written in 1799 by Amos Kent (H. C. 1795) to his brother, Moody Kent (H. C. 1801), which contained some interesting information concerning the early history of the Porcellian Club, of which both were among the early members.

Our associate, Dr. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, has recently edited for the Corporation of Yale University a volume called Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles. On page 419 is a cut which reproduces a drawing found in the Itinerary for May, 1794. This drawing was made in 1793 by the Rev. Dr. William Jenks of the Class of 1797, while a Freshman, and was a satire on the Porcellian Club, then in the third year of its existence. The drawing fell into the hands of Miss Betsey Stiles while on a visit to her sister Mary, the first wife of the Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes of Cambridge, and was

[1] Gay Transcripts (Miscellaneous Papers, i. 106–108: British Museum, Add. MSS. 29,549. f. 111).

[2] Publications, x. 247–252.

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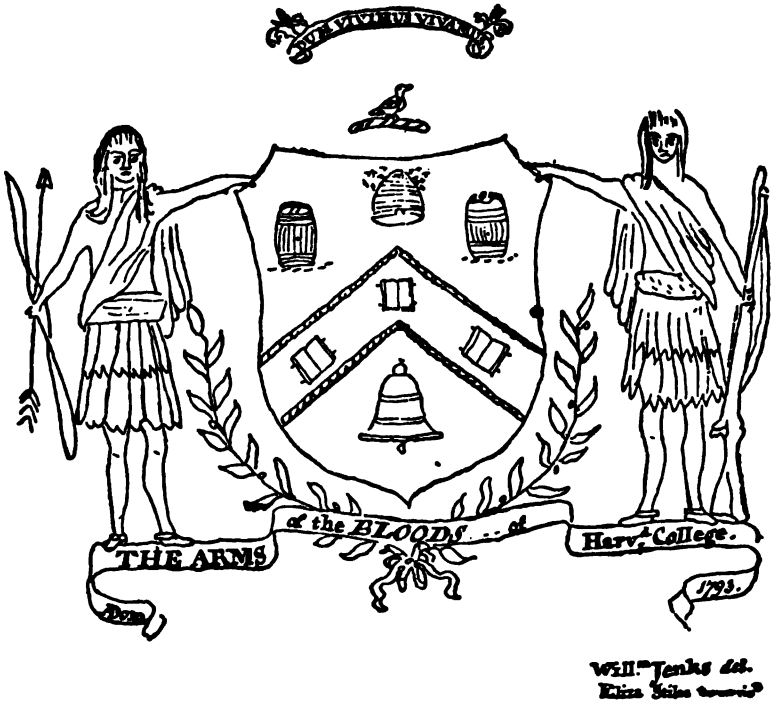
sent by her to her father, President Stiles. Dr. Dexter very kindly permits me to communicate these facts to the Society for publication in our Transactions, together with a cut of the drawing. The ribbon bears the legend "The Arms of the Bloods of Harv^{d} College." The arms are drawn in heraldic fashion, but with some inaccuracies, the bird, which forms the crest, for instance, facing the wrong way.



The three open books on the chevron were doubtless supposed to bear the word "Veritas" upon their pages, after the manner of one of the College seals. The College bell is probably the one depicted below the chevron, which is surmounted by a beehive and bees, and by two wine casks. The supporters of the shield appear to be Indians; and the motto above the crest, *Dum vivimus vivamus*, is the same as that found below the coat of arms of the Club in use to-day.

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The Porcellian Club elected to its fellowship eleven men from the Harvard Class of 1797; but we do not find the name of William Jenks among them. Perhaps his satire may have spoiled his chance of preferment.

Mr. JOHN W. Farwell exhibited a copy of La Nouvelle Testament, published at The Hague and Amsterdam in 1730, which bears on the title-page the autograph of Benjamin Franklin and on a fly-leaf the statement that it was bought at the sale of Franklin's library in Philadelphia in 1805.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1917

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, on Thursday, 15 February, 1917, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

On behalf of Mr. CHARLES M. ANDREWS, a Corresponding Member, the following paper was communicated:

THE BOSTON MERCHANTS AND THE NON-IMPORTATION MOVEMENT

I

The mercantile activities of such prominent colonial towns as Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia are factors to be reckoned with in colonial history, for the mercantile houses and organizations were the American agencies concerned with the promotion of trade and commerce, and the trading interests of British merchants had a decided influence upon the governmental policies of the day and often directed the actions of council and parliament. Trade, in itself considered, may be deemed a sordid human activity, lacking the glamor of war and diplomacy, a selfish pursuit, drab and unadorned, but it is one of the highly developed organic functions of the social system, representative of a more advanced stage of social evolution than is agriculture, and in its operations offering many explanations of historical events, the causes of which have frequently been sought elsewhere. The doctrines and enterprises of the merchants of the eighteenth century, both in England and America, are conspicuous to a noteworthy degree, and often play a leading part in determining our external relations, but they do not

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become historically visible until the period immediately preceding the Revolution, when they take on great political importance. They are apt to be passed over, however, with only a brief mention in our histories. Sons of Liberty and Committees of Correspondence find ample recognition, but where will one discover any attempt to glorify the origins of our Chambers of Commerce? Yet the latter deserve as careful a study as do the former, for many of them arose out of an organized effort to meet the difficulties which we were called upon to face in our controversy with the mother country.

Boston from early times was the home of merchants, who as business men, adventurous spirits, and writers on trade became prominent in colonial history. Zachariah Gillam and his son Benjamin, John Nelson, Samuel Waldo, Charles Lidgett, Thomas Banister, Joshua Gee, Andrew Belcher, Sr., Charles Apthorp, and others were leaders in activities that carried them beyond the confines of the colony into the larger commercial world. But there is no special reason to think that during this early period they and their fellow merchants acted together in any organized fashion for the protection or promotion of trade. Protests there were and community of action in regard to custom-house affairs, and it is possible that even before 1751 they had begun to meet in a more or less regular way for the advancement of their common interests, but of continued and concerted coöperation there is no sign.

About 1750, however, in the days when Sir Harry Frankland was collector of the port on the British establishment, friction arose owing to the latter's fondness for seizing ships concerned in illegal trade, and we find a petition signed by fifty-three of the merchants of Boston, protesting against a proposed appointment to the court of vice-admiralty. The period was one of concern to the traders, some of whom had suffered from royal impressments and all had been outvoted in town meetings, where, as Shirley claimed, it was irksome for them to attend, and they had fallen into the convenient habit of petition in matters which directly concerned their interests. It was at this time that they began to gather in the front room toward the Long Wharf of the British Coffee House, the tavern kept by Cordis and Mrs. Cordis[1] on the north side of King Street, to

[1] Cord Cordis married (for his second wife) Hannah Jones (widow of Elnathan Jones), October 2, 1740; and died at Concord, aged 63, July 29, 1772. His

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consider questions of trade. How often these meetings were held we cannot say. Probably then, as later, this Merchants' Club met frequently, informally, and without call, the members dropping in when they liked, and varying in number from half a dozen to twenty-five or thirty according to the weather, other engagements, and the exigencies of trading conditions. No records were kept and no references are to be found to the meetings.[1]

But in 1763, the need of more definite organization was felt. The end of the long war had come, peace had been anticipated for many months, the terms of the settlement had been in a measure already made known, and fears had been aroused of a renewal of the Molasses Act, which was due to expire the next year. Consequently on April 14, 1763, the members of the Club came together and resolved to organize themselves into a Society.[2] They appointed a committee to draw up "some general rules and orders for their government" and a few days later this committee reported the following articles:

That the Company form themselves into a Society, by the name of The Society for encouraging Trade and Commerce within the Province of Massachusetts Bay

That this Society shall consist of Merchants and others concerned in Commerce and of any other Persons of Ability and Knowledge in Trade who may be desirous to encourage the same,

That there shall be a General Meeting of the Society sometime in the month of April or May annually, to consider the state of Trade and

widow died in London in 1779. (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 214; Wyman, Genealogies and Estate of Charlestown, i. 240; Boston News Letter, August 6, 1772.)

[1] It is more than likely that the Club was behind the movement of 1761 to oppose the writs of assistance and to break down the whole vice-admiralty system in Boston. Two of its members, Harrison Gray, treasurer of the province, and John Erving, one of the council, were plaintiffs in suits before the common law courts against vice-admiralty officials, which were designed, as Governor Bernard said, "to destroy the court of admiralty and with it the custom house which cannot subsist without it." (Colonial Office, 5:891, Ll 67, 68; Beer, British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765, pp. 119–123.)

[2] In the original document the year is not given, and there is no mention of the founding of the Society in contemporary newspapers or diaries, but as John Hammock, Jr., one of the signers, died January 7, 1764 (Boston Gazette, January 16, 1764), and John Simpson, another of the signers, died June 30, 1764, while on his way from Fayal to Philadelphia (ibid. July 30, 1764), the year must be 1763. Furthermore the object of the Society was to prevent the renewal of the Molasses Act, and we have records of its activity in December, 1763.

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to determine upon any matters relative thereto that shall be laid before them, and that the particular Day of such meeting shall be appointed by the Standing Committee for the time being,

That at the General Meeting a Chairman shall be chosen by written vote (the greatest number of Votes to determine the choice) whose Business shall be to moderate at the meeting and put the questions, to be determined by vote. At such meeting a clerk also shall be chosen to minute down the Proceedings and record the votes of the Society.

That business may be carried on with greater decency and order, any Member who may have anything to propose, shall address himself to the Chairman and care shall be taken to avoid, as much as possible, all Party disputes and every thing that may tend in any measure to dissolve the Union of the Society, or to interrupt the good harmony which ought to subsist among the members of it.

That at the General Meeting annually, there shall be a Standing Committee chosen, consisting of [fifteen [1]] of whom [9 [1]] shall be a quorum. The Members of which Committee shall be chosen singly by written vote, the majority of voters to determine the choice.

That the Committee shall meet together Monthly (or oftener, if they see cause) to consult upon the affairs of Trade, to take notice of anything which may be judged prejudicial to it, and to receive any Proposals that may be made for its advantage; and shall make Report of the same to the General Meeting, to be acted upon there as shall be judged proper.

That the Standing Committee (if they think there is sufficient reason therefor) may occasionally call a General Meeting of the Society at which Meeting the Business shall be regulated and carried on, in the same manner as at the stated annual meetings.

That upon Request in writing subscribed by Twenty or more of the members (without assigning any special reason) the Committee shall call a General Meeting.

That the Committee, either in the Public News Papers or some other way, as they shall judge most proper, shall cause notice to be given of the Time and Place of the General Meetings two days at least before the Same.

That any Persons of other Towns in the Province who are friends to Trade and desirous to advance the interest thereof, ~~and who may be in Town~~ [2] at any Time when the Standing Committee meets, may be invited to be present with them.

[1] In another hand.

[2] Crossed out in the original.

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~~That if any of the Standing Committee should become a Member or Members of the General Court, he or they shall thenceforth cease to be of the Committee.~~[1]

That at every General Meeting each member present shall before he departs leave with the Clerk [a pistareen [2]] or whatever the Company shall deem sufficient in order to defray the Expences of the Meeting: and the Clerk shall account with the Society for what he receives.

That the Tavern Expences of Committees shall be born by themselves, but all other charges which may be incur'd for the Service of the Society, shall be defreyed by the whole [an account of which shall be laid before the Society at their annual meeting[2]].

That every person who shall subscribe his name to the foregoing articles shall be deemed a member of the Society.[3]

These articles are signed by one hundred and forty-six merchants, a number of whom must have been members of the Merchants' Club for many years, while others were doubtless sons of those who in 1750 had signed the petition to the Treasury. Two at least were from distant towns, one from Nantucket and one from Falmouth (Portland). In the years that followed, many others joined the Society, while some of those whose names are recorded doubtless fell away in the strenuous days of the non-importation controversy.

Thus the organization of the merchants took on three forms. First, the Club, an informal body, which had been in existence since 1751, meeting regularly at the British Coffee House, the Bunch of Grapes, or less frequently at the [Admiral] Vernon's Head,[4] and there indulging in much talk and considerable liquor, wine and punch, for which each person paid his own charge,[5] and there too having debates and controversies over trade, sometimes acrimonious.[6] The members dropped in as they pleased, always in the evening, and there were rarely present less than five, or more than twelve. There

[1] Crossed out in the original, with a marginal note "not passed."

[2] In another hand.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, a collection of papers originating with the Society for the Promotion of Trade and Commerce and gathered by Edward Payne, secretary of its Standing Committee.

[4] Drake, Old Boston Taverns, pp. 33–38, 38–39, 55, and Appendix.

[5] Rowe, Diary, March 25, 1767.

[6] William Molineux was one of the chief offenders: see Rowe, February 11, 1768, and Drake, pp. 41–43, for a Molineux-Otis anecdote. Molineux was known and disliked as an agitator.

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was no formal procedure or taking of minutes, though sometimes an understanding was reached to request the Committee to meet and consider some important business. Among those recorded as attending most frequently, during the period from 1764 to 1770, are Joshua Winslow, Harrison Gray, Thomas Gray, John Boylston, Nicholas Boylston, Edward Payne, Captain Davis, John Erving, Jr., William Molineux, Melatiah Bourne, Samuel Hughes, Thomas Brattle, James Otis, James Perkins, Isaac Smith, Jeremiah Gridley, Ezekiel Goldthwait, James Warden, and Benjamin Hallowell. Some of those attending stayed only an hour, while others remained for the greater part of the evening. Secondly, the Standing Committee of fifteen members, of whom nine constituted a quorum, which met at one of the taverns, monthly or oftener, if necessary, considered the general conditions of trade and prepared business for the larger body. The hour was usually, but not always, in the morning. John Rowe was the first chairman and Joshua Winslow his successor, and Edward Payne was secretary. The membership included Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, Thomas Gray, John Erving, Jr., William Phillips, Deacon John Barrett, and others whose names have not been preserved. At these meetings states of the trade were drawn up, grievances presented, and remedies contrived, and decisions were reached to call a general meeting at a certain time and date. No minutes were kept, as far as the evidence goes to show, but the secretary took down the main conclusions, making rough drafts which he afterwards copied out in fair hand. The members of the Committee, as of the Club, bore their own tavern expenses, but charges arising from business undertaken in the interest of the Society as a whole were met from the common purse.[1] Thirdly, the General Meeting, or as it was also called, the Whole Body, the Body, or the Trade, which met annually under the rules, probably in May,[2] and had a

[1] Thomas Gray and Edward Payne had been instructed to draft a state of the trade in 1763, and to make every effort possible to prevent a renewal of the Molasses Act. In doing so, they incurred considerable expense, for which under the rules of the Society they should have been reimbursed. That this was not done appears from their statement to the Committee in January, 1766, that even "if the Society that remains should pay them half a dollar each for the purpose aforesaid there would even then be a deficit" (Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517).

[2] Boston Evening Post, May 14, 1764: "The annual meeting of the Society

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dinner; but in the years from 1766 to 1771 it met much more frequently, though we cannot always tell whether a meeting was composed of the members of the Society, the subscribers to the agreements, or the merchants and traders at large, that is, the merchants and traders and others concerned in trade, as the phrase went. That the Society suffered diminution of numbers after the Stamp Act controversy is evident, but how far this affected its procedure and activities is not clear. For a subscribers' meeting, notices were sent out on little printed slips, varying in size at different times, evidently according to the printer's convenience, signed by the chairman of the Committee and addressed to the subscriber.[1] For an open meeting, the call was sometimes published in the newspapers and sometimes announced on printed slips without signature or address. As far as recorded the numbers present at these meetings varied greatly. From thirty to one hundred were present at the subscribers' meetings, and we are told that as many as a thousand attended an open meeting at Faneuil Hall. At the meetings special committees were appointed[2] and resolutions adopted. John Rowe, from whose diary[3] we obtain considerable information about these various meetings, was a zealous attendant until the excesses of the non-importation party, in 1769 and 1770, dampened his enthusiasm and curtailed his attendance, and for a time he ceased to go altogether. On the occasion of an important meeting, April 25, 1770, he had gone fishing.

The society thus organized for the promoting of trade and commerce was the first board of trade for the city of Boston, and was the forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce founded in 1785. Its

for encouraging Trade and Commerce will be held this evening at the British Coffee House. The members are desired to give their attendance."

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides.

[2] Such as that of March 1, 1768, to correspond with merchants in other trading towns and provinces and consisting of John Hancock, John Rowe, Edward Payne, William Phillips, Thomas Boylston, Arnold Welles, Melatiah Bourne, Henderson Inches, and John Erving, Jr. A committee was also appointed to prepare a list of those articles which it might be thought necessary to import, and there were doubtless many others.

[3] This diary was first published, with some omissions, in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 60–108; later in a separate volume (called Letters and Diary) edited by Mrs. Cunningham, in more complete form. I have been carefully over the original manuscript and obtained therefrom much additional information regarding the meetings and those who were present at them.

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origin was probably due to the reports, sent to the colony by the agent, Jasper Mauduit, of new proposals regarding trade under consideration in England, and probably also to warnings given to the merchants in Boston by their correspondents in England, who were always prompt to discover whatever was mooted in Board of Trade, Privy Council, or parliament likely to affect the American trade. Charles Townshend was appointed first lord of trade on February 23, 1763, but it is unlikely that letters announcing his policy could have been received in Boston before April 14 and so have influenced the founding of the Society on that date. As the immediate purpose of the Society was to prevent the renewal of the Molasses Act, its first task was to draft a "State of the Trade," in which the burdens of that act, as far as they concerned New England, should be adequately presented. The business was placed in the hands of Thomas Gray and Edward Payne, as a sub-committee of the Standing Committee, who entered into correspondence with the merchants of Marblehead, Salem, and Plymouth, requesting them to furnish information about the fishery and to send committees to consult with the sub-committee in Boston.[1] In consequence of the information thus received, the Society in December, 1763, drew up a memorial, containing a statement of reasons, and presented it to the General Court. Marblehead, Salem, and Plymouth each did the same.[2] The General Court referred the four memorials to a

[1] The New York merchants were equally active at this time. In February, 1764, they assembled in the Long Room of Burn's tavern, which as a merchants' meeting place corresponded to the British Coffee House in Boston, and appointed a committee to prepare a memorial to the assembly of the province, representing the decline of trade and the distresses of the merchants and traders of the city. This committee, which may be the same as that noted below, p. 174 note 2, wrote to Philadelphia advising the merchants there of their intention of "heartily joining the eastern governments in soliciting a discontinuance of the most unjust of all laws, the Sugar Act," and of requesting the assembly to instruct the agent in England "to go hand in hand with the other governments." Apparently the merchants of Rhode Island did the same, for the assembly there in February, 1764, ordered a memorial regarding the duties on sugar, molasses, etc., "to be sent to Mr. Agent Sherwood" (Boston Gazette, February 13, 1764; Boston Evening Post, March 26, 1764). It would be interesting to know more about this early instance of coöperation among the merchants. I owe these references to Miss Viola F. Barnes, who made the search for me.

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 17. Memorial of Merchants and Traders of Boston, "That a certain Act of Parliament in the sixth year of his late Majesty's reign, generally known by the name of the Sugar Act [Mo-

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committee of both houses, with instructions to prepare a letter to Mauduit, which was done. On February 10th, the merchants forwarded their statement, with a letter, to the regular agent, William Bollan, and at the same time transmitted copies to all the neighboring colonies and placed two hundred and fifty in the hands of the merchants of London for distribution. Bollan received the letter on April 10th, five days after the Sugar Act became a law. The "State of the Trade" he never received at all, so that the first effort of the Society to meet the new British policy ended in failure.[1]

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lasses Act], being near Expiring, they have the greatest reason to expect that the W. Indian planters will use their utmost endeavours to procure the renewal of it" (Massachusetts Archives, Court Records, xxv. 100. Memorial of Merchants and Traders of Plymouth, xxv. 100; of Marblehead, xxv. 109; of Salem, xxv. 114). Unfortunately the General Court proceedings, from December 21, 1763, to January 24, 1764, with all supplemental papers, were burnt in the fire which destroyed Harvard Hall on the night of January 24, 1764, where the assembly was sitting on account of the epidemic of small-pox in Boston. These letters and memorials were among the papers lost. But the committee was instructed to recover what it could, to prepare a letter to Mauduit during the recess of the assembly, and to place it in the hands of the Secretary for despatch (xxv. 143, 152–153, 194).

[1] The text of the "State" probably contained the following sections:

One principal branch of the trade of this province is the fishing carried on to the Banks; in this branch there is upwards of 300 vessels employed, besides a great number of small boats in the Bay, and in the Mackrel Fishing about 90, the Fish these vessels cure, with the pickled Fish and Liver Oyl amounts to upwards of £160,000 stg. per annum; — about ⅗ of this Bank Fish turns out merchantable and is sent to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the net proceeds of which with the freight is remitted to Great Britain; the other ⅖ being such as is oversalted, sunburnt, and broken, and thereby rendered unfit for any market in Europe is sent to the Islands in the West Indies, first to the English Islands, which cant consume more than ⅙, the remaining ⅖ is sent to the French foreign islands, in return for which we receive Molasses and a small proportion of ordinary sugars. This valuable branch of trade and nursery of seamen almost if not wholly depends on our trade to the foreign islands in the West Indies (as we cannot cure fish for the European market separate from the other sort sent to the West Indies) and as we have no other Market for what is made by the Bankers, it will be lost if not sent to the foreign islands in the West Indies and this loss must infallibly destroy the whole bank fishing.

Another considerable branch of our trade is lumber of all kinds which is sent to the West Indies, also provisions, horses, onions, and many other articles suitable for the West Indies, in which trade there is upwards of 300 vessels employed in this province. Most of these vessels call first at the English islands (who

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II

From 1764 to 1768, except for a brief period following the date for the enforcement of the Stamp Act, the members of the Merchants' Society devoted themselves very largely to the one great task of convincing the authorities in England that the new acts of revenue and trade were not only a burden to the colonies but a menace to Great Britain herself. They endeavored to show, in all sincerity, that the acts of 1764, 1765, and 1766 were certain to obstruct trade and in the end to ruin it, and that whatever threatened the prosperity of America threatened that of Great Britain also, affecting the well-being of the British merchant and the revenue accruing to the British Exchequer.

They began by saying that the colonies were able to pay for British manufactures in only three ways: either by what they produced

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consume but a small proportion of what we export). When they are supplied, the remainder is carried to the foreign islands.

Some oak timber and staves are sent to Ireland, some to Madeira and the Western Islands to purchase wines, and some few cargoes are sent to Spain, Portugal, and England, but none to any foreign port to the N° of Cape Finisterre; as the first cost of these cargoes of lumber is very small, the whole profits are no more than a freight for the vessel, but this freight is a great encouragement to shipbuilding, a very considerable branch of trade in this province, where there has been upwards of —— built in a year, before the late embarrassments were laid on our trade since wch this number has been reduced ⅓.

Some of these ships with fish, oyl, potash and naval stores are sent direct to Europe, but chiefly to the West Indies with lumber, fish, and other articles of our produce, the proceeds of which with the freight to England, together with the vessel, are remitted to Great Britain to pay for the goods we receive from thence, and by having timber plenty and building so many vessels we become carriers for all other parts of America besides the trade to the West Indies. Many of our ships go to Virginia, N° and S° Carolina, where they carry large quantities of rum and other northern produce to purchase rice, tobacco, and naval stores, and take in freight for Great Britain where the Proceeds of the whole and indeed of all our trade centers (Massachusetts Historical Society, 02517).

I have not had access to a copy of the "State" of 1763, if such exists. Probably that sent to the General Assembly was lost in the fire. The figures given above correspond to those furnished by Marblehead and Salem, and the statement above, though containing a reference to the Sugar Act of 1764, and so actually written after that date, is likely to be nothing more than the earlier one adapted to a new need. Many such "States" were drafted between 1763 and 1769 and the same wording appears throughout. New "States" are simply old "States" added to. A copy of the "State" has recently been found: see pp. 379–390, below.

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among themselves, by what they caught out of the sea, or by the money or commodities obtained in "a circuity of commerce abroad," and they argued that whatever diminished this purchasing power, by lessening the trade of the colonies or otherwise, was bound to be prejudicial to Great Britain.[1] This lessening of the trade was seen in the restrictions imposed on the export of foreign sugar (from the foreign West India islands) and on the liberty to export, after being warehoused in a colonial port, directly to a foreign market, such as Holland, Hamburg, or Petersburg. Were such restrictions removed, they said, it would encourage colonial trade in foreign sugars, which might in time become considerable and increase the remittances to Great Britain, "whereas under the present regulations none will ever be brought here [Boston] in order to be reported to a foreign market in Europe." They objected to the restraints placed upon the molasses trade, which "is a great spring to every branch of business among us, such as the fishing, the lumber trade, and shipbuilding, because molasses is distilled into rum, as well as our trade to Africa."[2] They likewise objected to the restraints placed upon

[1] In studying the grievances of the New England merchants we must remember that New England had four particular forms of economic activity — agriculture, fishing, commerce, and manufactures, in the last three of which she was the rival of Great Britain. The southern colonies and the West Indies had neither manufactures, commerce, nor fisheries. See American Husbandry, i. 434–435, ii. 236–245.

James Bowdoin wrote to Alexander Mackay, November 29, 1770: "What is remitted to England is by a circuitous trade, and principally from Spain & Portugal, all which added to the numerous articles of their own and foreign produce sent by them to Britain is scarcely sufficient to pay for what they import from thence. Whatever, therefore, is taken from them as revenue not only so far prevents the paying the debt due to Britain, but operates to the discouragement and lessening of their general trade, upon which their ability to pay that debt and continue that importation depends" (6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 242).

Franklin wrote to Peter Collinson, April 30, 1764: "We are in your hands as Clay in the Hands of the Potter and so in more particulars than is generally considered, for as the Potter cannot waste or spoil his Clay without injuring himself so I think there is scarce anything you can do that may be hurtful to us, but what will be as much or more so to you. Does anybody see that if you confine us in America to your own Sugar Islands for that commodity, it must raise the price of it in England. Just so much as the price advances, so much is every Englishman tax'd to the West Indies" (British Museum, Add. MSS. 37021, f. 21).

[2] William Barrell proposed to ship sugar from St. Croix to Boston, consigned to his brother Joseph Barrell. The latter warned him that the duties must be

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the export of foreign logwood, which was obtained "by small cargoes of provisions produced among us, together with some British manufactures, which has employed many vessels, but now being obliged to carry it first to England, it will incur heavy expences by reason of its bulk, and so there will be an end to this business." They asked for direct importation of oranges, lemons, and all kinds of fruit, as also oil consumed in the fisheries, partly to save the great expense, port charges, and delay involved in stopping at an English port, and partly to avoid the danger to perishable articles of a long voyage. The expense, they said, exceeded the amount of the duty, and delays destroyed a commodity which had "become almost a necessity for the health and comfort of the inhabitants of North America." They hoped that parliament would permit the direct importation of the wines of Spain and Portugal also, because the supply of wine from Madeira and the Azores had become insufficient and the price very high, and they could always send their pipe-staves in exchange. They asked to be relieved of the prohibition to send flaxseed,[1] lumber, and potash to Ireland.

Above all, the merchants objected to the multiplicity of bonds required by these acts, in addition to those required by the acts of 1660 and 1672, particularly the bond that lumber should not be landed in any part of Europe north of Cape Finisterre, except Great Britain, and that which prevented rum from being taken to the Isle of Man.[2]

paid ("if you ship anything it must undoubtedly pay the duty"), and said that he would have to get the permission of the governor of the Danish island "which he had never refused to give" (April 12, 1709, Barrell Papers, Library of Congress).

In a letter written to Jasper Mauduit, Nov. 24, 1764, and later sent to Richard Jackson, an unknown correspondent (the Society?) emphasizes the fact that the duties levied by the act of 1764 were a heavy drain on the colony, particularly in the matter of molasses, because the French would suffer none to trade without permits and these permits were very costly; the business had to be transacted by such a person as they appointed, "who was allowed ten per cent for doing it, and he charged the molasses as he pleased and no questions must be asked" (Massachusetts Historical Society, Massachusetts Papers, no. 1: not in the printed collection). Barrell had great trouble with the Danish governor and finally failed to get permission. The Society laid a great deal of stress on these points in its statements. Compare my Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry (American Historical Review, July, 1915, xx. 763 note 6).

[1] The sending of flaxseed to Ireland was a very important aspect of New York and New England commerce at this time. The merchants said that the trade was worth £40,000 a year. See Commerce of Rhode Island, i. passim.

[2] The object of this bond was to prevent smuggling. Until 1765, the Isle of

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They quoted instances of coasters giving upwards of twenty bonds in a year, all or most of which were in force at the same time; and they believed that parliament could hardly have foreseen the effect of the acts upon the coasting trade of the colonies, or it would have realized that the cost of the bonds and of the certificates needed to cancel them would amount to more than the first cost of all the lumber sent to Europe. They objected strongly to the unlimited powers given to officers of the customs by the act of 1764, wherein the defendant who lost the suit was entitled to no costs whatever, and to only two pence damages in case he won a suit against an officer for wrongful seizure, whereas if the officer won he recovered triple costs. They objected to the extension of the powers of the vice-admiralty courts, which were —

> Empowered to seize any or all the ships or goods of the American merchant at their leisure, and though they act ever so arbitrarily or unjustly the merchant has no remedy, the officer not being subject to any damage or even costs of suit; while the claimer, if he should be non suited or discontinue his action must pay treble costs, if the judge of the vice-admiralty-court shall say there was a probable cause of seizure, which no doubt will always be the case, as not only the officers of the customs but likewise the governor of the province, being interested in those seizures, will always encourage and promote the same, and many instances may be produced where both vessel and goods have been condemned as forfeited only for a mistake or neglect of the master when the revenue has not been affected or any fraud intended, which severities are not imposed on our Fellow subjects in Great Britain, where the Commissioners of the Customs settle all such mistakes where no fraud was designed.

For this reason, the merchants declared, the whole trade of America lay at the mercy of the officers of the customs and the judge of the admiralty court.

Man had been controlled by private lords and in consequence smuggling had gone on to such an extent as to call for governmental interference. The custom-house books of western Scottish ports, notably those of Ayr, show the extent of this clandestine running of rum to Great Britain. In 1765 parliament bought out the governmental rights of the proprietaries, the Duke of Atholl and others, for £70,000, and immediately passed acts regulating the trade of the island. Under these acts the colonists were forbidden to carry rum to the Isle of Man and were required to give a bond not to do so. (5 George III, cc. 26, 39 sections 5, 6, c. 43.)

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Besides the bonds, said the merchants, every master of a vessel, even coasters, had to take out a sufferance and a cocquet for every article he took on board, and in case he took any goods for which bond was required he had to have a certificate from the collector of his having given bond, and in case he neglected to take out such certificate, not only the goods but even the vessel and the rest of the cargo were forfeited. Before a cocquet could be taken out for any goods (even of British manufacture), an oath must be taken by whom and in what vessel the article intended to be exported was imported, a thing often impossible. They protested against the "great expence and needless trouble accruing to the Trade by means of a naval officer," who had been appointed originally "for the inspection of trade and the prevention of irregularities and abuses therein," when there were no officers of custom in America, and they begged that this official be dispensed with.[1]

These were the essential features of the grievances of the merchants, which as we can well believe were debated nightly in the rooms at Mrs. Cordis's or Colonel Joseph Ingersoll's or Mr. Thomas Hubbard's, and given more orderly form at the meetings of the Standing Committee. They constituted the chief objections thus far agreed upon for inclusion in the "Proposals to the Parliament for the Regulation of the American Trade," which Thomas Cushing told Dennys De Berdt, the special agent for Massachusetts appointed in 1765, were being prepared by a committee of Boston merchants.[2] But, as it happened, the proposals were not sent in that year. Two new subjects for consideration came up that constituted serious grievances in the eyes of the merchants of New England. In the act of 1766, the duty on molasses was reduced to a penny a gallon, but even this reduction was not satisfactory, as the merchants wished the duty removed entirely, and there can be no doubt that the concessions in

[1] It is difficult to disentangle and classify these various drafts framed by the Standing Committee. No. 26 seems to be of date 1764, with additions of 1767; no. 27 must be of date later than 1766; no. 54 is the first draft of no. 39, which was probably that sent to De Berdt; while nos. 52, 53, 58–60, 65–67, 74, were probably notes used in making up no. 39, the last part of which is contained in nos. 55 and 56. No. 31 is apparently the latest of all, and was completed toward the end of the year 1768, as it embodies all the claims made since 1763. Nos. 68–70 may be the original draft of no. 31.

[2] Thomas Cushing to Dennys De Berdt, June 28, 1766 (Massachusetts Papers, Seventy-Six Society Publications, no. 3, p. 15).

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this act and in that of 1765, upon which their friends and correspondents in England sent them congratulations, were in their eyes largely discounted by the many restrictions which embarrassed the trade and caused great disappointment.[1]

The second grievance of the year 1766 concerned the cod and whale fishery, a capital article and of conspicuous national importance, though deemed by many in England an "improper employment for colonies and detrimental to the interests of the mother country."[2] For years the New England fishermen had been charged with breaking the act to encourage the trade to Newfoundland,[3] with debauching the British sailors with rum, rinding the standing timber of Newfoundland, running an illicit trade with the French there, carrying off British seamen by offers of higher wages, and generally abusing the freedom of the fishery, until it could be said that there was "not one old England ship [in the Labrador fishery] or seaman employed therein nor a seaman raised thereby for the service of the fleet."[4] With the appointment of Palliser as commodore-governor in 1764, the Commissioners of Customs recommended an addition to his instructions calling for an enforcement of the law. Consequently Palliser in 1765 began his attempt to check the activities of the New England fishermen. For two years[5] these attempts continued until the merchants could say that —

By the cruisers under this gentleman's command some [of the New England vessels] have been plundered of what fish they had caught, others have had their best hands pressed, the loss of whom was the occasion of and ended in the entire loss of their vessels; on some they have inflicted corporal punishment, but all that were in their way were

[1] Massachusetts Papers, Seventy-Six Society Publications, no. 3, p. 29.

[2] American Husbandry, ii. 245.

[3] 11 William III, c. 25.

[4] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vi. § 704. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1704–1705, § 116; representation of the Board of Trade, April 29, 1765, Colonial Office, 195: 9, pp. 397–424; and the additional instructions to Palliser of May 6, 1765, ibid. pp. 434–436. Some of these orders are in the Book of Orders and Proclamations by Governors of Newfoundland, Public Record Office, Admiralty, Greenwich Hospital, Miscellanea, Various, 121.

[5] Palliser arrived, for the second time, on April 3, 1766, and began to issue rules, orders, and regulations to be observed on the coast of Labrador. Under these rules no New Englander was to take cod in the straits of Belle Isle or off the coast of Labrador.

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drove off, by means of which their voyages were broken up and every one was threatened with confiscation of vessel and effects, if they presumed to fish there another year.[1]

When De Berdt wrote to Cushing in September, 1766, he said that he had heard nothing from the merchants, so it is probable that no letters passed between them until January, 1767. Then the committee wrote, forwarding the petition that had been in preparation for several years. They characterized this petition as a "representation of the difficulties which Trade still labors under by means of some late Acts of Parliament." De Berdt had already received a statement of grievances from the General Court of Massachusetts and had laid them before Secretary Halifax, some time in the early summer of 1765, but as Halifax was dismissed in July, he repeated them in a larger memorandum and sent them to Lord Dartmouth, who was appointed first lord of trade in the same month. But it was not until January 17, 1767, that the Society sent over its first petition. To this act it had been prompted by a letter from a committee of the merchants of New York, dated November 24, 1766, saying that "the universal and concurrent opinions of the principal merchants through the Continent, all uniting in material points, must carry conviction," and that they hoped the Boston merchants would not be "behindhand with [them] in their common cause, but like Brethren and fellow-citizens [would] join with [them] in promoting it, uninfluenced by sinister views or private interest."[2]

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, nos. 55, 56. See also Massachusetts Papers, p. 40, where additional grievances regarding the fishery may be found. In Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 65, is the following: "Mr. Palliser posted an order in the Town House and sent for the masters of all the vessels belonging to the plantations, forbidding [them] to tarry at St. John's or any of the other harbours after the last day of October [1766], and if any presum'd to tarry after that time they were to have their rudders taken off and their sails carried into the Fort, and likewise sail masters to give bonds with sureties not to bring away any passengers. By which we are entirely excluded from the Cod fishery." Cf. no. 74.

[2] The letter was addressed to James Otis, Benjamin Faneuil, Henry Lloyd, John Rowe, Samuel Hughes, and Stephen Greenleaf, and was signed by John Cruger, John Alsop, James Jauncy, Walter Franklin, Henry White, Richard Yates, Isaac Sears, Robert Murray, Gerard Beekman, David Van Horne, and Elias Desbrosses (Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 30). For the general situation in New York and for comments on the petition, see Becker, History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776, pp. 28–39.

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Actuated by a desire to coöperate and feeling perhaps the need of stating some of their particular grievances, for the New Yorkers said nothing about the fishery, the Society sent its own petition to De Berdt, signed by sixty names, headed by that of Joshua Winslow, and embracing all the points that we have touched upon up to this time. De Berdt, having remarked in his letter of March 9th that "the New York petition had some warm expressions which gave offence to the House,"[1] and was ordered to lie on the table, could say in that of March 14th that the Society's grievances were very well stated and decently expressed.[2] Some results were obtained, the restrictions upon the Irish trade had already been removed, and promises were given by Secretary Shelburne and by Commodore Palliser, about to start on his summer cruise to Newfoundland, to look into the grievances regarding the fishery.

But the subjects for debate at the Merchants' Club were not yet complete. In June, 1767, parliament passed three acts, commonly known as the Townshend Acts: one creating an American board of Customs Commissioners, with its seat in Boston, which was to exercise in America the powers formerly possessed by the Commissioners of Customs in England; a second, designated in this paper the Townshend Act, imposing duties on glass, lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper; and a third making certain concessions to the East India Company, which controlled the tea trade. The board, provided for in the first act, was commissioned September 8, 1767, its members reached Boston on November 5th, and held their first session on the 18th, and it was not long before the merchants were ready with a crop of new grievances. They complained of the great increase of restrictions and embarrassments due to the frequent attendance demanded at the collector's office, and the inevitable delays that accompanied it. They objected strongly to the requirement imposed by the board that each shipper make out an exact report of his cargo, without the privilege of post-entries from day to day, as was allowed in Great Britain, and they protested vehemently against the fees, particularly from coasters, due to their being obliged to clear in the same manner as vessels bound on foreign voyages, and to give bond for

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 74.

[2] Ibid. nos. 34, 35. Printed in Letters of Dennys De Berdt, 1757–1770 (Publications of this Society, xiii. 451–452).

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every trifling article they carried for private families, such as a few pounds of tea or sugar or a few gallons of rum or molasses purchased of retailers. Formerly, they said, coasters had not been required to take out cocquets for such articles, and the fees which used to be but a shilling for entering or clearing, were now ten shillings or a guinea, which was "more ready money than they sometimes received for their whole freight." [1]

They complained further of the great number of tide-waiters and inferior officials that were appointed, and of the requirement that masters admit and lodge them under deck, without any authority to do so. Some of these men, they said, were not trustworthy, and the masters and merchants did not think their interests safe under their care. These officers took upon themselves the liberty of searching vessels before they were discharged, and sometimes before the masters had reported at the custom house, an insolent action which was illegal and contrary to the practice in Great Britain. They construed as an "intolerable grievance" the appointment of officers of customs on board the men of war, cutters, and other armed vessels, and the "arbitrary and unlawful manner" in which they exercised this authority in the province, which they deemed "unprecedented in any other part of the British dominion." Some of the officers, by force of arms, had entered vessels on the high seas and in the harbors, demanding of the masters their papers, breaking open the hatches and searching the holds with lighted candles. Even ships from London, with hemp and powder on board, were not exempt, and the lives and properties of the king's subjects had been greatly endangered. Some vessels, they said, coming into the harbor, even before the master could reach the custom house to

[1] The fees exacted at the custom houses everywhere at this period were a distinct grievance to the merchants. There were two forms of protest, one against excessive fees, and the other against fees that were illegal or were not authorised at all. On July 31, 1769, fifty-one of the leading merchants of Newport entered into an agreement not to pay higher custom-house fees than the law allowed and to guard strangers against the exactions of the custom-house officials (New Hampshire Gazette, October 13, 1769). The same question came up in Connecticut, when in October, 1769, memorials were presented to the assembly, which disclose the antagonism existing between the merchants and the customs officials (Connecticut Archives, Maritime and Trading Affairs, ii. nos. 90, 91). The protest had been made in the colonies as early as 1764 and was continued till 1770. It was emphatic in Philadelphia and Charles Town.

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make report, had been boarded by armed boats from the Romney, and one vessel from the West Indies had had her hatches opened and twenty hogsheads of molasses hoisted upon deck, that the hold might be searched. Another vessel with lumber was carried alongside the Romney, had her hatches opened, and the boards taken on board the king's ship, before the master was permitted to go to the custom house to report. Several other vessels had been seized in the bay, at the Vineyard, and other ports, where they had been obliged by contrary winds to make a harbor, and sent into ports they were not bound for and there detained at great expense on pretence that some trifling articles, belonging to the mariners, and not specified in the cocquet, were to be found on board.

They further complained that upwards of twenty sail of men of war, cutters, and other armed vessels, purchased by the Board of Customs Commissioners, had been employed "to cruize on the Trade of this province," without discovering one vessel engaged in smuggling, "though their expectations were so raised in hopes of plunder that some of the commanders of the king's ships purchas'd small vessels on their own acc't, sent them into the little harbors and coves where the men of war could not cruize," disguising some of them as coasters and employing every device possible to detect illicit and contraband trade. One master —

> of a little cutter purchased a fishing boat on his own acc't for the same purpose, but being disappointed of the advantages they expected to reap from the condemnation of the prizes or illicit traders, they have been induced to take advantage of the mistakes and omissions of the masters of coasting vessels, several of whom have been seized by those *guarda costas* and two actually condemned for some trifle found on board without being claimed. Since the arrival of the Commissioners between 20 and 30 vessels have been seized and several masters fined £100 stg. for landing some goods before they had reported at the custom house, four of these were seized by the officers of custom in port and condemned for landing a few casks of wine and molasses more than they had reported; the others seized by the cruisers were dismissed after waiting some time at a great expense, except two coasters, which were condemned for having some trifles on board for which they could produce no cocquet and one open lighter for a small cask of brandy and three boxes of lemons found on board.

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Referring to the preambles of the acts, which state that the design was to raise a revenue, the merchants called attention to the fact that even if the amounts expected should be raised, they would not compensate "for the Damages that will arise to the Trade, Navigation, and Fishery of the Colonies and the Manufactures of Great Britain." They continued:

Furthermore to collect this revenue the government has been at a great expence, equal, at least, if not superior to all the revenue that could have been collected had the trade been as extensive as it was before these acts were made, which is not the case now nor never will be while these acts are in force. Besides the vast charge for troops, men of war, and cutters stationed here to prevent any clandestine trade and to support any officers of the customs in putting these acts (which have regularly been submitted to) in execution. Then courts of vice-admiralty are constituted, with a salary of £600 a year to each of the judges, a board of commissioners with a salary of £2500 per annum, also an additional number of Custom House officers appointed by that board, amounting in the whole to near 200, some of whom have salaries from £30 to £50 per annum.[1]

In conclusion, the merchants said in recapitulating their grievances, —

These indulgencies would have a happy tendency to unite Great Britain and her colonies on a lasting foundation; all clandestine trade would then cease, the great expence of men of war, cutters, and custom house officers to secure this revenue be saved; trade, navigation and

[1] The colonial grievances against the courts of vice-admiralty at this period reached their climax in the case of Henry Laurens in Charles Town, who had three vessels seized and condemned. Laurens's comments on this event can be found in his pamphlets, for the titles of which see Wallace, Life of Laurens. Some of his views, as given in his Letter Books, are even more expressive. He speaks of "the tyranny of custom house officers . . . the losses from their unjust exactions and from the rigorous, artful, and illegal decisions in the American courts of vice-admiralty . . . the vast extent of jurisdiction and powers given to a single man who may be a fool or a knave or both . . . those rapacious, haughty, insolent and overbearing men, such as our collector was during his short six months residence here, are great troublers of quiet minds . . . such men are the greatest enemies to Britain of any men in America and as one vile priest does more injury to the cause of religion than two rakes, so does one such officer or man in power more prejudice to the interest of Britain in America than twenty mouthing Liberty Boys" (Laurens, Letter Book, iv. 31, 168, 192, 329, 353, 355, 370, 374, South Carolina Historical Society).

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fishery would greatly revive, and the demand for British manufactures be very much increased.

There is nothing to show that the merchants sent over a second petition or brought the later grievances to the attention of parliament. By 1768, the movement had begun to take on a new form, a change due largely to the Townshend Act, which as the Boston merchants said in enumerating their grievances did not "affect the Trade in the same manner as the other duties and restrictions." But it did affect the people at large, and for this reason. The revenue and trade acts of 1764, 1765, and 1766, though couched in more elaborate form and laying greater emphasis on the revenue features, were in large part expressive of the old right of parliament to regulate the trade and commerce of the colonies, a right first exercised in the navigation acts of 1660, 1663, 1672, and 1696, and thus were nothing more than extensions of British policy as it had existed for a century. It was natural that these acts should have been objects of resentment to the merchants of Boston, for they were expressly designed to bring within bounds the somewhat untamed trade of the northern colonies. To prevent the passage of these acts was the main purpose for which the Society had been founded. Had the colonists found no other causes for complaint than the grievances which we have presented, then the Revolution would not have occurred, for it is practically certain that on this point a compromise would have been reached that would have satisfied both sides to the controversy. In the year 1767, there was a widespread desire in America for a reconciliation with England and a hope that reconciliation would come.[1] At the same time the

[1] Adams, Cushing, Otis, and Gray wrote to Dennys De Berdt, December 20, 1765: "We find that attempts have been made to raise a jealousy in the nation that the colonists are struggling for independence, than which nothing can be more injurious. It is neither their interest, nor have they ever shown the least disposition to be independent of Great Britain. They have always prided themselves on being British subjects" (Adams, Writings, i. 70–71).

Laurens wrote in 1767: "As to our European-American affairs I am under no dread about them, there may possibly be some disagreeable work, but even such work must be soon at an end and produce an establishment of union to endure for ages. There are mistaken men on both sides, the eyes of the nation will be opened and men on either part who do not want wisdom and who can see the compatibility of freedom and subordination will arise with healing under their wings and

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statesmen in England were anxious to end the dispute and the British merchants, with but few exceptions, were working in behalf of peace. The latter knew that the trade restrictions were injuring American and Briton alike and felt sure that when once this fact was driven home to the official mind, such modifications would be effected as to calm colonial fears and restore harmony and peace. The Boston merchants themselves said that all they wanted was to return to the situation as it had been before 1764, and had this been all that the controversy involved colonial wishes might have been met.

III

The Sugar Act of 1764 was, as is well known, something more than an act regulating trade and commerce; it was designed also to raise a revenue in America to meet the cost of colonial expansion. This part of the act was due not to the demands of the commercial policy, that is, mercantilism, but to the demands of the new imperialism. Great Britain had emerged from the Seven Years' War an empire, with new territory and with new obligations, and the disposition of this territory and the fulfilment of these obligations became the paramount issues. How to raise a revenue in America was an important though subordinate part of the imperial policy, and was the object in part of the Sugar Act and entirely of the Stamp Act and the Townshend Act. The duties imposed by the first and last of these acts were customs duties, levied on imports from the foreign West Indies in the case of the Sugar Act and from England in the case of the Townshend Act. The taxes imposed by the Stamp Act were of the nature of internal revenue taxes to be paid by every individual who engaged in certain legal transactions or certain forms of business or who bought a newspaper, a pair of dice, or a pack of cards. That the stamp tax promised to be exceedingly onerous, we have ample evidence to show.[1] Had it been enforced it would have

build an everlasting bridge from Britain to British America. God grant it may be so" (Letter Book, iv. 52).

[1] William Allason wrote to his brother, September 6, 1765: "We may expect a good collection next spring unless the Stamp Duty should have the same bad consequences that is generally apprehended from it. By all accounts it will drain the country in a few years of all the money in circulation and entirely put it out of the power of people in trade to recover their small debts by the charge of the sheriffs that will be necessary in the prosecution of a suit for a trifling sum, of

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affected in one way or another nearly every individual in the colonies, except slaves, indented servants, and children under age. Such a tax was burdensome in itself, quite apart from the constitutional question involved, but it was made far more burdensome to the colonists by the requirement that it be paid in the sterling money of England. This meant not in kind, as was the four and a half per cent of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, nor in paper currency, as might be the local colony rates, but in hard money, gold or silver or copper. Now payments in hard money had always been a colonial difficulty, especially in small amounts, because of the scarcity of small coins, and many suggestions had been made in the preceding three quarters of a century looking to the increase of such coins, copper and silver, for colonial use. As early as 1715, Attorney General Northey had expressed the opinion that the plantation duty should be paid in silver,[1] and many efforts had been made to have the quitrents paid in like manner, but without any great success. In all these cases the amounts were trifling as compared with the sum that would have to be paid under the regulations of the Stamp Act and the Townshend Act.

The years from 1761 to 1769 were a time of severe financial depression in the colonies, trade was dull, money scarce, credit poor, and debt the common burden of farmers, country storekeepers, merchants in the cities, and people generally. There was hardly a

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which most of our debts consist." He further adds that in case of a suit "the plaintiff cannot recover the Stamp Duty as he can the other costs, since it is not so provided by Parliament" (Allason Papers, Virginia State Library).

[1] Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1714–1719, p. 157. In 1765 Van Cortlandt wrote, "I would order tobacco could part of the duty be saved, but a penny sterlg Duty will not answer" (Letter Book, New York Public Library). It was reported from Charles Town in 1770 that the "Kings duties" were paid in silver, and this term probably included the plantation duty (South Carolina Gazette, May 31, 1770). For the quitrents, see Bond, The Quit Rent System in the American Colonies (American Historical Review, April, 1912, xvii. 508–510).

There was probably no hard money to speak of in the interior towns of any of the colonies, certainly not in New England, where scarcity in the cities, due to trade and the fisheries, would involve the country districts, which were entirely dependent on the mercantile centres for cash. For example, Enfield even at this period was making all authorized grants for schools, ministers, and town expenses "to be paid in the produce of the earth" (Allen, History of Enfield, i. 432–443, and passim). A similar condition prevailed in all the agricultural communities of New England.

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section of the country from Portsmouth to the tide-water regions of Virginia and North Carolina that did not feel the pinch of this money stringency and where the complaint of bad times was not heard.[1] Prices were low, debts very hard to collect, bonds given had to be sued for in county courts, many persons were sold up by the sheriff and others thrown into jail. We read of men locking themselves in their houses to escape arrest [2] and making the best terms they could with their creditors. Though business had always been done on a credit basis, in a country where money was "hard to come at," as the phrase went, there had never been a time when indebtedness among all classes of the population had run so long or reached such high figures. The country storekeepers, unable to collect from the farmers, could not pay the city merchant who furnished them sugar

[1] "Distress and poverty stalks among us equal to anything among our neighbours" (Letter from New Bern, N. C., June 10, 1768, New Hampshire Gazette, July 22, 1768). The Boston Gazette of November 2, 1767, speaks of "the present alarming scarcity of money and consequent stagnation of trade, and the almost universally increasing complaints of debt and poverty." A Providence town meeting, after listening to the report of its committee on December 4, 1767, stated as a reason for its vote that the colony was heavily in debt, its inhabitants subject to burdensome taxation, trade, which for some years had been on the decline, was suffering under great embarrassments, medium very scarce, and the balance of trade very unfavorable (Providence Gazette, December 12, 1767). Newport made the same statement, December 4 (Boston Gazette, December 14). In 1764, times in New Jersey and Pennsylvania were considered bad by all writers, and failures were not uncommon. On April 5, 1769, Washington wrote to George Mason, "That many families [in Virginia] are reduced almost, if not quite, to penury and want by the low ebb of their fortunes, and that estates are daily selling for the discharge of debts, the public papers furnish too many melancholy proofs" (Life and Correspondence of George Mason, i. 140); and in October, 1769, an address was sent to Gov. Franklin of New Jersey on the "Deplorable State of the Province, arising partly from the excessive scarcity of money and decay of trade, but chiefly from the multiplicity of lawsuits, mostly for debt" (New Jersey Archives, xxvi. 529). This petition led to the passage of the New Jersey Act "For the Relief of Insolvent Debtors." John Watts of New York wrote to Gov. Monckton in 1765, "The illboding aspect of things, cramping of trade, suppression of paper money, duties, courts of admiralty, appeals, internal taxes, etc., have rendered people so poor, cross, and desperate that they don't seem to care who are their masters or indeed for any master" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 587, December 30, 1765). See also a letter from J. W. Watts to the same, February 4, 1769, on the situation (Chalmers Papers, iii., New York Public Library).

[2] William Dunterfield of Imlay's Town, Pa., did this in 1767, and Nathaniel Barrell, whose financial troubles split the Sandemanian Church in New Hampshire, locked himself in his house for six weeks in 1766.

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and rum from the West Indies and manufactured goods from England, while he in turn could not meet the current accounts rendered yearly by the British merchant, and had to shorten his orders or suffer the chagrin of having them refused, because the commission merchants or manufacturers in London, Liverpool, Bristol, or Hull were unwilling to extend further credit.[1]

[1] As the point here made is an important one, I should like to substantiate it by quoting a part of the evidence upon which it is based, drawn not from the newspapers but from the merchants' letter-books of the period.

Thomas Browning of Georgetown, Maryland, wrote to Stephen Collins in 1762: "Collections in the Cuntry is I can say with truth the worst I ever knew them (March 15)." "The Farmers are not making more than half crops of wheat and not more in proportion of Indian corn. I can only say that two thirds of our farmers when I call on them for their account say that if we pay you off our children must suffer for bread" (June 15: Collins Papers).

The Allason letters of 1763 are full of references to suits to recover money from debtors in Annapolis, Philadelphia, North Carolina, and the up country. "I believe there never were so many suits depending in this country [Virginia] as there is at this time. Scarcely a prison is allowed to stand [empty] in some counties" (W. Allason to his brother, June 24, 1764, Allason Papers).

John Schaw, writing to Allason on February 9, 1763, said: "I have left above £1500 debts behind me [in Annapolis] and I shall go over about the last of March to make a collection," with the result that "I made a very unsuccessful journey of it myself, I mean in collecting my debts, which gives me great uneasiness. The people there had nothing in short to pay me" (Letter of April 1, 1763). His journey included the Eastern Shore also.

Ezra Collins to Stephen Collins, March, 1763: "Thy old friends Dan[l] King, W. Vane, J[no] Nutting of Salem failed thousands worse than nothing."

Scott & Gill wrote to Collins from Boston, April 18, 1763: "There is scarce any other money than gold passing here and a rare thing to see a dollar."

Collins threatened one Thomas Barber of Piles Grove, New Jersey, with an execution until he paid or gave security, and couched his letter "in an angry style." Barber replied that going to prison would not pay the debt.

John Kirkpatrick wrote from Alexandria, November 26, 1764: "I have been abroad these three weeks in quest of money but never met so great disappointment in collection. I had a great dependence on Col. Philip Lee, but in vain. There is £28 due from Col. W[m] Fitzhugh in Stafford which I sued for." Parrish wrote from Accomac in 1764: "Times is hard and money hard to collect, at least I find it so" (May 29, 1764), and he calls 1765 "that fatal year," not because of the Stamp Act but because of his business troubles.

The letters from Joseph Barrell to his brother William emphasize constantly his difficulties in raising money, April 15, June 15, 1763. That of April 22 mentions the matter three times.

On May 4, 1765, Peter Schmuck of Hardwick, New Jersey, wrote Collins: "I received thy letter yesterday by which I understand thy uneasiness which I am sorry for and should have come to Town before now if I could got my money in which I have been trying ever since Last Fall but all in vain and now I began to

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The current of indebtedness was always toward Great Britain. The farmers were in debt to the country merchants and local store-

sue and it seems to be all one. Of twenty fife person which I suit at one time I got my money only of four and the rest I must get it by execution, which it seems to go very hard. For such times never was known among people for there is never a week but there are some vendues of the sheriffs and constables." In 1767 Collins sold up Schmuck, who wrote him a scornful letter, September 23. Collins in commenting on the situation said, May 21, 1768: "Sheriff, coroner, and I think Schmuck are all dependent on each others Lenity, either having executions against each other or debts due."

Jacob Isaac to Collins: "I am schmd to come without the money becust it has been so long standen" (February 23, 1766). John Milhause to Collins, April 26, 1766, says much the same, and later, November 18, adds that he has enough owing him to pay many bonds but that it is impossible to get it quickly by suing, as the law allows three months in small debts and three courts in large ones. John Sheppard to Collins, June 19, 1765: "I have as much more money owing to me as I owe, but I cannot command it at this time by Rason of the great Scarcity of money." Michael Hessler appealed to him in two letters from "Reading Gaol," August 25, September 2, 1765. Jonathan Bowen of Cohansey, September 5: "I am getting in the money for you as fast as possible." John Long to Collins, Burlington, New Jersey, November 25, 1766: "I rec^{d} your letter leding me no the Scarcity of money and indeed I put no Dout in it for I can get none at all."

In 1767, William Barrell of Portsmouth was down to bed-rock in the matter of cash. "I havent 5 dollars in the world," he wrote, April 15, 1767.

John Rodermel to Collins, "Richmont townsib, Barks County," Pa., May 2, 1768: "I bake of you dow dwade me six monds lonker Deng will bay you ac whidoud fale den id unbasble for me to bay id sowner. Den I hobe you vont but me in ane chust [jail] dou it is ware hards time to gad money."

In February, 1769, William Allason had twenty-six cases in Fredericksburg County court against Shenandoah debtors, among whom were Daniel Morgan, the Ashbys, and others. His suits, 1762–1764, against persons owing him either on bond or on account numbered 126, as follows: Frederick county 38, Stafford 30, Fauquier 24, Culpeper 16, etc. In 1768–1770, the total number was 94, covering fourteen counties and the general court. Allason kept a list of his lawyers (Allason Day Book and Suit Book).

The financial difficulties do not appear to have been as serious in New York as in Pennsylvania, though Philip Van Cortlandt said in 1764 that trade was "almost intirely stopt by the severity of the customs officers and men of war," and his letter-books show that he had considerable sums owing him in Virginia, which he could not get except at serious loss. "I could wish the gentlemen of Virginia had been as punctual in payments as I have been in answering their requests," he writes, and his correspondence is as spicy as is that of Collins. He had to go to law in some cases and to threaten to do so in others. As to his own business, he says, "I do but little more than pay the expence of my works at present," and in December, 1765, speaks of "these dull times, the distressed situation, little business done, no law in force, a terable time." "Most of the sugar houses are stopt since last Fall," he writes in March, 1765, a situation due of course to the Sugar Act, the scarcity of raw sugar, and the watchfulness of the custom

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keepers, the latter to the city merchants and wholesale importers, and they in their turn to the commission merchants and manufacturers in England. While it is true that a great deal of business was by barter and exchanges in kind, yet book balances had to be settled in money, either paper or cash in America and cash or bills of exchange in England, that is, in sterling. Book debts [1] were not available as assets and notes as a rule were not accepted. In the colonies credit ran generally from four to six months, while between England and the colonies the period was from nine to twelve months, after which interest was charged. In making payment in England, coin — generally dollars, sometimes gold — was shipped in bulk, or bills of exchange were sent, and these had to be bought with cash, for unless a merchant had a balance of his own in England he had to purchase a bill of other merchants who acted as brokers, and such bills were always difficult to obtain in small amounts and sometimes could not be obtained at all or only at high rates of exchange.

The period we are considering furnishes ample evidence of the difficulties which the merchants in America had to meet their debts in England. One concrete illustration, in no way exceptional or peculiar, is of more value, however, than many generalizations. I take the following quotations from the Collins Papers, to which reference has already been made.

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house officers and men of war. In 1768, he reported sugar again as low and other sugar houses as "stopt in the city." From John Van Cortlandt's ledgers may be obtained figures regarding the suits against Roscoe Sweny and Col. Tucker of Virginia, and Abraham Maers of North Carolina, as well as ample additional evidence of debts due all the way from New Haven to Hampton, Virginia.

[1] Book debts play a very important part in colonial business and were the subject of legislation in a majority of the colonies. They occupy much space in ledgers after 1758, but comparative estimates are difficult to reach, on account of the scarcity of evidence. John Glassford, a well-known Scottish merchant, with a string of stores along the Potomac and near-by waters, enters in one of his ledgers a list of 250 customers with debit and credit items (October 1, 1760). The customers owed him £125 stg, 1613 lbs tobacco, and £975 Virginia currency; he owed them £15 stg, 3426 lbs tobacco, and £54 Virginia currency (Firm Accounts, Maryland and Virginia, v. Library of Congress). The entering of debts in a merchant's ledger is no sign of specially bad times, but the following in ledgers of the period under consideration may be noted: "Debts deemed Desperate," "Insolvent Debts," "Dead and no Effects," "Denies the Debt," "Sued," "Run to Virginia" (many), "Lunatick and no Effects," "No such man can be found," "Lost by Judgment." It should be noticed that "Desperate Debts" was the customary term for bad debts (Mair, Bookkeeping Modernized, p. 516).

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On July 13, 1762, Neate and Pigon wrote: "We have lately been so extremely badly remitted from Phil[a] that it puts it out of our power to give such extensive credits. . . . It greatly hurts us not to be paid in time . . . consider what must become of us to be detained out of One hundred thousand pounds perhaps for many months after the Invoice is due. Our Capital is not large enough and indeed times have been so bad that no fortune in England can support such credits."

On February 13, 1763, they complained of "the backwardness of our friends in your city in their payment," and on February 18, 1765, pointed out that Collins owed them £1024, "now all considerably overdue" (March 14, 1765), some of it of three years' and some of it of two years' standing. "It is an unreasonable credit and such which requires the Bank of England to support," and on January 1, 1766, they wrote for £699, "being in much distress for money." Mildred and Roberts, to whom Collins owed £3037, wrote, a few months later, "Though the money may be safe in thy Hands, yet it will not pay our debts here and Interest is no Equivalent to the Disappointment in our Trade." [1]

Collins was a conscientious man of business and as early as 1763 reduced his orders, hoping to strike a balance.[2] He was "fearful of not being able to remit in due time," though he was encouraged to think that trade would "a little revive." But he was disappointed. In 1765 he wrote, "The situation of trade with us is at present very dull," and he could not remit owing to the "sudden stagnation of business amongst us." He speaks of the many debts due him, some of which were "unsafe." In 1768, David and John Barclay refused to open business with him, because they had too many connections with Philadelphia and had been disappointed in their remittances. "That determines us at present not to open any new accounts at

[1] Freeman & Osland wrote April 28, 1763, saying that "the failure of remittances from America rendered it impossible for them to fill his orders." Collins wrote to Neate, Pigon & Booth, "I shall be very cautious of ordering any more Goods than I can pay for to your satisfaction" (April 30, 1767).

[2] He made a strenuous effort to collect money. Patrick Riley, Bound Brook, September 21, 1763, wrote, "I rec[d] thine of the 8[mo] 4, 1763, which Required in the most strickest manner thy money." John Goldy, New Mills, March 6, 1764, "As an Acknowledgement for thy Extrornery favor and patience in Waiting so long for thy Money," etc.

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least with such only whose Capitals will enable them to preserve that punctuality we used formerly to experience from our old Friends in your City and is absolutely necessary to render a connection acceptable; so confident we are that we will venture to assert under the late and indeed present state of your Trade, it is not in the power of any man with a slender Capital to give that satisfaction to his correspondents either he could wish or they expect." Even in 1769, Collins could write, "The great difficulty we labour under either in selling goods for cash at any profit or in collecting it where it has been long overdue." He had succeeded in reducing his debt to Hyde and Hamilton to £167 in 1767, but he did not clear himself of his indebtedness to Neate till 1771, when the account current rendered in December showed a balance in Collins's favor of £514, and in consequence Neate sent him a hamper of porter and a North Wiltshire cheese.[1]

While in individual cases and in certain sections such as Charles Town[2] and parts of the West Indies, the balance of trade was against

[1] The account between William Allason of Falmouth, Virginia, and his brother in Glasgow ran as follows:

December	1760	Debit	£2129	Balance	1342
"	1762	"	1342	"	1392[a]
"	1763	"	1657[b]	"	1258
"	1764	"	1595[b]	"	904
"	1765	"	1021[b]	"	603
"	1766	"	1048[b]	"	697
"	1767	"	717[b]	"	362
"	1768	"	388[c]	"	182

[a] Including £50 interest with no credit allowance.
[b] Principal and interest.
[c] Principal and interest and postage.

The letters from Henry Cruger to Aaron Lopez of Newport, Rhode Island, show a similar situation. In March, 1768, the indebtedness of Lopez to Cruger was £11,000 stg, with a prospect of a reduction to £9000. In 1767 it was £10,514 (Commerce of Rhode Island, i. 189, 229).

[2] The Charles Town merchants generally had balances to their credit in England, so that the drain of specie in that direction was trifling as compared with the North. But there was a drain of specie northward, because of the large amounts of potatoes, onions, flour, and other staples imported from the northern colonies, for which there was only a little rice to give in return. Few provisions were raised on the plantations of South Carolina, and no Irish potatoes for export till 1768 (South Carolina Gazette, June 27, 1768). It was estimated in 1770, that specie was drawn from the colony in three ways: (1) by the payment of the king's duties in silver; (2) by the trade with the northern colonies, "who take a very incon-

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England, in the region from North Carolina northward it was in England's favor during the eighteenth century with the single exception of the period from 1774 to 1777. Imports and exports approached most nearly an equilibrium during the non-importation period, the year 1769 especially, when the balance was only slightly in England's favor. At all other times the imports largely exceeded the exports, though the volume of excess varied during our period from £200,000 in 1769 to £4,000,000 in 1771, with a mean of about £800,000.[1] This meant that a debt existed to the English merchants which American merchants and planters were trying to pay off as rapidly as they could. But when trade was dull, times hard, markets bad, prices low and falling, stocks glutted, and money scarce, the merchants in England and Scotland suffered no less than did those in America. The merchants' letters to their American correspondents, already quoted, show their apprehensions. Others are to the same effect. "Never was such times here before," wrote Jeremiah Osborn of London to Aaron Lopez in 1767; Henry Cruger, writing in the same year from Bristol, spoke of the "close Dunning from necessitous Manufacturers and Tradesmen" to which he was subjected, and said that nothing but "a great share of Natural Fortitude of Mind" kept him "from sinking under [his] present Calamities." The situation in Scotland was worse even than in England. "People of the best credit cannot borrow a shilling. The Glasgow and Edinburgh banks lending none and calling in all their credits, offering by public advertisements 5 pct for any sums at any time," wrote Robert Allason, in 1763, when he was in great distress for money. "Public credits are bad, stocks lower than ever known before. London exchange 3 pct against us, and a general stagnation of payments here, so that I never remember things in a worse situation." If bills of exchange, he writes again, are not sent "they wont find a man

siderable quantity of our produce in payment for their goods;" (3) by sea voyages to the same colonies for health, pleasure, change of air, or education. Thirty-two people are mentioned as going in that year to Rhode Island, Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, and taking with them 3500 guineas, chiefly in half joes and dollars. See an interesting letter in the Georgia Gazette on this subject, October 18, 1764.

[1] "Oil without Vinegar and Dignity without Pride, or British, American, and West India Interests Considered, Together with a Chart showing the Rise and Fall of the Trade between the Two Countries, By Macall Medford," 2d edition, London, 1807.

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in Britain that will lend them £500 cash on their joint credit. I never knew such times. Trade is still very bad, credit quite at a stand. In short this country was never in such a situation and if things dont mend soon there must be a general bankruptcy" (1764).

Thus it is evident that during the first half of the decade trade conditions in England, Scotland, and America were unsatisfactory and growing worse. The grievances of the Boston merchants outlined with unusual fulness the opinions generally held by merchants and expressed more or less fully in their letters. But while specific grievances affected each section and seaport differently, the one great grievance that seemed to affect all alike was the scarcity of hard money. While local debts could be paid in kind or in paper currency, British balances had to be met in johannes, moiodores, pistoles, dollars, and pistareens, according to their value as sterling. The royal revenues had to be met in the same manner. It did not make any difference to the man who paid these duties that they might not in all cases be sent to England to be receipted for at the Exchequer. He had to pay them in any case, and if the amounts received were spent or might be spent in America, the whole eventually found its way across the water to meet trade balances. Whatever may be the actual facts in the case, the colonists believed that their hard money was being drawn off to England.[1] Even as early as 1763, Van Cortlandt could write from New York, "Nothing is at present in so grate demand as cash, the London ships have carried off the gratest part of our silver and gold."

If this was the case before 1764, it was much more true after that date, when the collections, as entered in the Receiver General's accounts,[2] show large increases, when the West Indian trade, which

[1] This subject will bear further investigation. The author of American Husbandry deems it a "hackneyed argument" to say that the money of the northern colonies was "laid out in merchandize with Britain" (ii. 242). But the colonists believed profoundly that it was so. Samuel Adams said, "The Dutys upon the goods imported from [England] and consumed here, together with those which are laid upon almost every Branch of our Trade all of which center in dry Cash in her Coffers amounts to a very great sum" (Writings, i. 42–43, 62, 114).

[2] The following is taken from the Annual Abstracts of the Receiver General, 1746–1780 (Public Record Office, Treasury 38:357):

1762	Plantation duty	£721
1763	" "	1326
1764	" "	1031

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brought in much hard money, was rigidly controlled, and when smuggling was reduced almost to a standstill.[1] The Stamp Act congress sounded a note of warning when it declared that the scarcity of specie rendered the payment of "the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament absolutely impracticable." The warning was hardly needed, for the danger was in every one's mind. The town of Roxbury said in 1769, that instead of being reconciled to the revenue acts, "thro' length of time which hath a tendency to wear off the gloom of difficulties, we daily find them more and more burdensome; and when we view the trade and commerce of the province under a very sensible decay and loaded with embarrassments, and the little circulating cash which we have left daily draining from us and the revenue officers like the horse leech cry, Give, Give, our groans and complaints are increased."[2] Salem reported that 7000 ounces of silver had been collected from the Townshend duties on goods "brought to town for exportation or consumption," thus impoverishing provinces "to maintain swarms of useless officers in luxury and extravagance;"[3] and one enterprising writer estimated in 1768

1765	Plantation duty	£2959
1766	" "	7378
1767	Plantation duty	3910
	By 4 George III	29,685
	" 6 George II	10
	" 6 George III	272
	Fines and Forfeitures	684
1768	Plantation duty	517
	By 4 George III	14,802
	" 6 George III	8765
	" 7 George III	86
	Fines and Forfeitures	119
1769	Plantation duty	1075
	By 6 George II	75
	" 4 George III	6047
	" 6 George III	2655
	" 7 George III	708
	Fines and Forfeitures	1217
	Seizures by Ships of War (per 4 George III, c. 15)	597

[1] See the grievances of the Boston merchants, p. 169 and note 1, above. Even in 1763, Van Cortlandt could say, "Here [New York] the men of warr and customs officials search every vessel and have seized several," "Several vessels have been seized this week past, therefore be careful of contraband goods."

[2] Boston Gazette, May 22, 1769.

[3] Pennsylvania Chronicle, July 18, 1769.

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that the silver already drawn from the province "if beat into plates would entirely cover the road to the Borders of York government," but that the sum, large as it was, "would not in any ways equal the amount lost to the province by the destruction of its trade." [1]

IV

Such a situation as this called for drastic remedies. The popular solution of the difficult problem was frugality and thrift in daily life, the refusal to purchase certain articles that could be obtained only by importation from abroad, the manufacture of such necessities as might be made in America, and the finding of substitutes in cases where articles or commodities could not be duplicated. The movement against extravagance in dress and lavishness and display at funerals had begun early in the decade, but the first certain hint of a non-consumption policy, as a reply to the British revenue measures, was given early in November, 1764, in a letter to Jasper Mauduit in England, in which the writer or writers asserted that as their trade would be greatly cramped by the scarcity of money, necessity would oblige them to do without such luxuries as cambric, lawn, calico, and other foreign imports, and Spanish and Portuguese wines.[2]

But no definite step appears to have been taken until after the passage of the Townshend Act was known in America, when on October 28, 1767, a large number of the people of Boston came together in town meeting and having presented in vigorous language

[1] Boston Gazette, July 11, 1768.

[2] This letter is not signed and there is no clue to its authorship. Its content is similar to the first part of that sent by Otis, Cushing, Gray, Adams, and Sheafe to Dennys De Berdt in December, 1765 (Massachusetts Papers, pp. 6–7), but it differs from the latter in containing the non-consumption clause and omitting the constitutional arguments that occupy so large a space in the latter document. As it was also sent to Richard Jackson in the spring of 1766, after the Otis letter had been sent to De Berdt and as the merchants at this time paid little attention to the constitutional claim, it is possible that the Society had something to do with it, particularly as Otis, Cushing, and Gray were all members of the Merchants' Club (Rowe's Diary, manuscript, December 14, 20, 24, 31, January 9, 10, 11, 1764–1765). This letter is not included in the printed Massachusetts Papers, but will be found in the manuscript collection.

Drake mentions a non-importation and non-consumption agreement of August, 1764 (History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 679), but I have been entirely unable to find contemporary evidence for it. It is certain that no non-importation agreement was made at that time, and had a non-consumption agreement been entered into in any formal way, it would surely be recorded in the newspapers.

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a statement of existing evils — heavy indebtedness, burdensome taxation, a declining trade suffering under great embarrassments and heavy impositions, scarcity of money, and an unfavorable balance of trade — entered into a formal self-denying agreement not to purchase, after December 31st, some forty articles of luxury or superfluity — silks, diamonds, furs, and millinery — and sundry commodities — glue, starch, cheese, etc. — that were probably deemed capable of production in America. At the same time the meeting put itself on record against importation and in favor of manufacturing, particularly of glass and paper, and warmly advocated the cultivation of a spirit of frugality, hoping thereby to find "a more promising prospect of emerging from the present alarming situation."[1] On the 30th a committee which had been named at the meeting met and began to arrange for subscriptions to the agreement, the form of which had already been prepared. In the meantime the selectmen despatched a letter to other towns in Massachusetts and the near-by provinces, with a copy of the Boston agreement. Providence, following the lead of Boston in all details, adopted the resolves in town meeting on December 2d,[2] and Newport did the same on November 26th. Roxbury[3] passed a similar resolution on December 7th.

The frugality cry was taken up by other towns, was carried northward to Maine and southward to Plymouth and the Cape, was heard in Connecticut, where Windham and Norwich were the first towns to respond, and, as the news spread by the gazettes travelled further south, found welcome in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and approval in the remoter bounds of Charles Town and Savannah.[4] "Save your money and you can save your country"

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 221–224; Boston Gazette November 2, 1767. This meeting did not adopt a non-importation resolution as is frequently stated.

[2] The town meeting met on November 25, and appointed a committee, which reported on December 2, at which time the resolution was adopted (Providence Town Records, November 25, December 2, 1767; Providence Gazette, December 12, 1767; Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides, December 9, 1767).

[3] Memorial History of Boston, ii. 338.

[4] The following towns may be listed, but the number could be greatly increased. Falmouth, Scarborough, Pepperellborough, Biddeford, Wells, Kittery, Old York, Arundel, Newburyport, Billerica, Medfield, Abington, Wellsboro, Ashburnham, Salem, Lexington, Grafton, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Sandwich,

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expressed in simple form this self-denying purpose, a purpose that found a place in the daily life of every individual and acted somewhat after the fashion of a body of sumptuary laws. To practise abstention and so to decrease the demand for European goods was within the range even of the humblest, and to lay off ribbons, laces, velvets, silks, and other forms of expensive dress became the first object of the new movement. To wear colonial-made clothing, native homespun, was the inevitable corollary, and everywhere gave added zest to household spinning and weaving. The ladies, young and old, became the sponsors of the new fashion, they donned clothing of their own manufacture, held spinning and weaving parties, and vied with each other, as town competed with town, to make a record of skeins spun and yards produced. From sunrise to sunset, out-of-doors in fair weather and indoors in stormy, spinning bees[1] became the centres of social activity, and in Massachusetts premiums were offered for the best pieces of cloth, serge, sagathy, and shalloon woven in the colony.[2] The men responded less enthusiastically to the new demand and took less kindly to this curtailment of their habits of dress and their social and sporting pleasures. Homespun was neither becoming nor fashionable, and the pleasures of the table, the tavern, and the race-course were not easily resigned, especially in the South.[3] In some quarters the ladies endeavored to make the

Truro. For Connecticut towns, see Larned, History of Windham County, ii. 118. The proceedings in Boston and the northern colonies were printed with approval in both the South Carolina and Georgia Gazettes, but I cannot find that any formal action was taken. New Jersey sent Massachusetts her congratulations on the economy resolutions, and Virginia, April 5, 1768, said she was anxiously expecting that some resolves of frugality and industry would be entered into by the merchants of Philadelphia, as the influence of so large a place would be extensive and the lesser towns would be ambitious to follow her example (Boston Gazette, May 9, 1768). All of the non-importation agreements contain non-consumption clauses.

[1] On September 21, 1769, there was held at Taunton "a Spinning Match: (or what is call'd in the Country a Bee)" (Boston Gazette, October 16, 1769).

[2] Boston Gazette, November 2, 1767, October 16, 1769; New London Gazette, April 25, 1766.

[3] One newspaper querist desired to know whether it would not be more probable that "we should soon have more profitable times among us, if the gentlemen's oeconomy or prudence were half equal to that of the ladies" (Boston Gazette, June 6, 1768); and a lady wrote to the South Carolina Gazette upbraiding the men for lack of self-denial, going to club or tavern, gaming, horse-racing, and cock-fighting (October 5, 1769). The South Carolina maidens were not satisfied with

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spinning parties as agreeable as possible to the men, by adding dancing and other festivities to the closing routine of the day, but elsewhere such frivolity was frowned upon and prayer and singing terminated the performance.[1] The pleasure of these and other occasions must have been somewhat tempered by the substitution of Hyperion tea for the customary Hyson and Bohea, and by the use of burnt barley, or small field peas, burnt carefully with butter and ground, which were extolled as equal to the best West India coffee.[2]

The many manifestations of the new temper of the colonists met with high popular approval and were widely commented on in the press. At a wedding in Windham the ladies dressed chiefly in clothes of their own making and drank Labrador tea.[3] A citizen of Newport declared that he would not vote for any of the candidates at a coming election who did not appear principally clothed in cloth made either in Rhode Island or in some part of America, and one of the clauses of the Newport agreement of October 30, 1769, was to the same effect.[4] The tailors of the same town had a meeting and offered to work fourpence cheaper on the manufactures of America than on those of other countries and to exact twenty-five per cent more in

a change of clothes, they wanted a change of habits also. New London recommended abstention from the use of spirituous liquors (Boston Gazette, February 1, 1768).

[1] At Gloucester the spinning was followed by the singing of an anthem (Essex Gazette, December 27, 1768).

[2] Hyperion or Labrador tea was a decoction of the leaves of the common "red root" and is described as "something like wild rosemary," with a "very physical taste, of a deep brown color, and generally disliked by those who taste it." It was afterwards advertised as "very wholesome and good for the rheumatism, spleen, and many other disorders and pains." A writer of New Bern, North Carolina, June 10, 1768, noting that Hyperion tea was used in the North "as a succedaneum to that most pernicious and destructive plant Bohea, which annually drains America of thousands," recommended to the people of North Carolina, "with due deference to the refined taste of the ladies, the use of Yeopann Tea." "This plant," the writer adds, "is much used among the lower sort, is of great efficacy, when taken physically, being a powerful sudorific; is no exotic but a domestic of almost every sandy plantation in this province. We hope, therefore, soon to have the pleasure of informing the public that at a meeting of the ladies on such and such a day at such a place, such a number of threads were spun, after which they regaled with Yeopann Tea" (New Hampshire Gazette, July 22, 1768). The yapon (yopon) shrub and "tea" are well known in the South.

[3] Larned, Windham County, ii. 117; Caulkins, History of Norwich, p. 367.

[4] Newport Mercury, February 13, 1769; South Carolina Gazette, November 23, 1769.

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making up velvet, silk, and broadcloth, costing over ten shillings a yard.[1] In Massachusetts, members of the Council and the House of Representatives, and the clergy generally, promised to wear cloth and shoes[2] of their own manufacture,[3] and the senior classes at Harvard, Yale, and the College of Rhode Island, now Brown University, appeared in homespun on the occasion of their graduation.[4] Harvard students, on October 24, 1768, resolved not to use tea, and the people of the towns around entered into the same resolution, while here and there, by formal vote, a town would declare a similar intention.[5] The reaction against excessive extravagance at

[1] Newport Mercury, January 30, 1768.

[2] The making of shoes at Lynn had been a New England industry for some years and was now considerably increased to relieve the people of buying the poorer varieties of shoes from England. The better varieties, such as callamanco shoes, the uppers of which were covered with a flowered or striped cloth imported from Flanders, were not made in America at this time. Cheap shoes in the South were made for sale by negro shoemakers on the plantations, and the business brought in considerable revenue to the slave owners. Lynn shoes were exported to Philadelphia and elsewhere.

[3] Boston Gazette, January 4, 1768.

[4] At Brown, the president also wore homespun (John Carter Brown Library, Broadside). The senior class at Yale announced their decision early "that their parents and friends [might] have sufficient time to be providing homespun cloaths for them that none of them [might] be obliged to the hard necessity of unfashionable singularity by wearing imported cloth" (New Hampshire Gazette, January 20, 1767). Madison wrote to his father from Nassau Hall (Princeton) that all the 115 students in the college and the 22 in the grammar school were wearing American cloth, July 23, 1770 (Writings, 1900, i. 7). For extracts from the Harvard "College Books," referring to the wearing of homespun, see our Publications, xviii. 351–352.

[5] Boston Gazette, March 27, 1767. How widespread the actual abstention from the use of British goods and tea-drinking was at this time it is difficult to say. The writer of the Journal of Occurrences, reprinted in the New London Gazette, January 6, 1769, said that the disuse of tea was universal and that retailers reported a falling off in its sale of four fifths; that many towns had entered into formal agreements to stop consumption; and that applications had been made from Georgia and another province for some articles of American manufacture. There was none, he added, available for export, but he knew that the manufacture of linen, cotton, and woollen had greatly increased since the Stamp Act, that almost every house was a manufactory, and that some towns had more looms than houses. So zealous was the spirit, he continued, and so helpful the new artisans brought over that already the country people everywhere were clothing themselves, and in time New England would have a surplus. Probably one must read such statements cautiously. The newspaper writers were very sanguine and often overstated their case, when it came to the expression of a hope or an expectation. As to this particular correspondent, we may well heed Thomas Hutchin-

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funerals,[1] in dress, carriages, and rings and gloves to the mourners, had long been under way in the North, and now spread to the South, and the people of Charles Town began to clothe themselves in their own manufactures, reducing the "enormous expense of funerals," therein following "the patriotic example lately set by Christ. Gadsden, Esq., when he buried the best of wives," until it seemed according to a local opinion that black at funerals would be "only worn by the fashionable gentry of the Ethiopian race."[2] In order not to diminish

son's criticism in his letter to Israel Williams, "Nine tenths of what you read of the Journal of Occurrences in Boston is either absolutely false or grossly misrepresented" (Williams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, January 26, 1769). There was plenty of tea-drinking in Salem in 1769–1770: see the Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856.

Patriotic zeal and a proneness to exaggeration must be reckoned with in all these accounts. Lancaster in 1770 was reported to have manufactured 30,000 yards of linen and woollen homespun, and to have in town 50 looms and 700 spinning wheels. Elizabeth went a step further and reported 100,000 yards spun and woven. Yet Gov. Franklin said in 1768 that there was no great increase in the raising of sheep in New Jersey and that there was not wool enough to provide each family with stockings (Pennsylvania Gazette, July 5, 1770; New Jersey Archives, x. 30–31).

There was a noteworthy effort at this time to bring skilled workmen from abroad, and efforts in that direction were successfully made. Wages were higher in the colonies than in England and complaints of artisans leaving England for America were not infrequent. Providence advertised in 1768 for "tradesmen in the mechanick arts," and Boston in 1769 mentioned several persons "lately arrived from abroad" (Providence Gazette, February 13, 1768; Staples, Annals of Providence, pp. 217–218; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 275. Cf. Boston Chronicle, February 13, 1769, for English complaints).

[1] Boston continued to have elaborate funerals, as in the case of Jeremiah Gridley, 1767, when the parade and show were not at all to Rowe's liking. The most costly funeral that Boston ever had was probably that of Andrew Faneuil in 1738, though that of Gov. Leverett in 1680 was certainly the most unique. (Memoir biographical and genealogical of Sir John Leverett, Knt., Governor of Massachusetts, Boston, 1856.)

[2] South Carolina Gazette, March 2, 1769: "Our greatest friend to homespun cloth, Christ. Gadsden, Esq., buried his wife yesterday morning. The town was searched throughout for some of that manufactory to follow as a mourner, but none could be bought and he was obliged to follow in blue cloth. The whole expence of the funeral of the manufacture of England did not amount to more than £3.10 our currency" (equal to 10 sh. sterling). The funeral of Lord Botetourt at Williamsburg in Virginia, 1770, though not as grand as that of Lovelace in New York a century before, showed little restraint in matters of expense. The coffin had eight silver handles and sixteen escutcheons; thirty-two escutcheons ornamented the hearse and the church, where the reading desk, pulpit, and communion table were hung with superfine cloth. There were twenty-eight streamers

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the number of sheep and so to lessen the woollen manufacture, towns, fire companies, and individuals, here and there, took solemn counsel to eat no more lamb or mutton during the year.[1]

Perhaps the only article upon which an import duty was imposed by the Townshend Act, that was deemed indispensable to the colonists, was paper, and during the years from 1767 to 1770, when the duty was removed, the manufacture of paper was a matter of great concern. The call for rags, white and clean, became something of a slogan. Save your rags "if you really love your country" was the way one newspaper put it,[2] while another enumerated abstention from tea, the manufacture of paper, and the "wearing old cloths until they were threadbare" [3] as the cardinal points of the frugality doctrine. Paper of excellent quality was made at Milton, Massachusetts, and was used extensively in the province at this period,[4] but the shortness of the supply rendered strict economy necessary.[5] As rags were always scarce, even under the prevailing disposition to save them, substitutes were suggested, such as tow, which was discarded in the manufacture of flax.

But the promotion of manufactures had a wider purpose to serve than the furtherance of the cause of frugality. It was agreed from Massachusetts to Virginia that a marked increase of manufacturing would bring England to terms,[6] and this belief found expression in

for the horses. The total bill must have been considerably over £500 (Botetourt Accounts, Library of Congress).

[1] Pennsylvania Chronicle, February 13, 1769; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 240, 289.

[2] New London Gazette, December 18, 1767.

[3] New Hampshire Gazette, September 30, 1769.

[4] Boston Gazette, November 23, 1767.

[5] The Harvard College Theses of 1768 have at the bottom of the sheet the words, "In Papyrum Miltoni in Nov-Angliâ confectam" (Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides). As early as May 2, 1765, the Boston News-Letter was printed on paper manufactured at Milton. The New Hampshire Gazette, January 6, 1769, appeared in a sheet much reduced in size, and the printers in explaining the fact said that for some time they had been using paper not only made in New England but made of rags collected in Portsmouth. The Maryland Gazette apologised in like manner to its readers (Scharf, History of Maryland, i. 114). One man writing to another said, "My paper is poor but 'tis American made which I hope will give you patience in reading and pleasure in reflection." The making of paper in Connecticut was begun in Norwich in 1766 (Caulkins, History of Norwich, p. 367).

[6] To prevent manufacturing in the colonies was one of the main objects of

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the resolutions passed in the town meetings of Boston, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia.[1] At Boston, subscription papers for those who wished to coöperate in establishing specific manufactures were placed in the town clerk's office and received considerable attention. Philadelphia laid stress upon the making of paper, but Boston and New York seem to have interested themselves chiefly in the manufacture of duck and linen, hoping thereby to accomplish the double purpose of employing the poorer classes, in distress because of the money stringency, and of arousing England's fears lest the northern colonies should become a centre of manufactures in competition with the mother country. The Boston undertaking was a matter of great interest to the Merchants' Society, and its execution was entrusted to a committee of its members. This committee raised funds, erected buildings, set certain of the poor at work, and calculated very carefully the profit and loss of the enterprise. But how long the effort was continued or whether it was a success or not, I am unable to say.[2]

V

The idea of non-importation of goods from England, as a measure not of economy but of retaliation and boycott, for the express purpose of enforcing a redress of grievances, must have been in the minds of the merchants of America for some time before the plan was finally adopted. It followed the rejection by the House of Commons of the various petitions sent over against the Stamp Act, and was due, as we are told, to the belief that after such rejections the colonists had "nothing to hope for but from themselves."[3] The idea took shape first in New York in October, 1765, apparently among the merchants, who on the 31st of that month gathered in

British policy. "Nothing, certainly would create greater heart burning and discontent in Great Britain than her colonies going into manufactures" (An Essay on Trade and Commerce. . . . Together with Some interesting Reflections on the Importance of our Trade to America. [By J. Cunningham.] London, 1770, p. 197).

[1] Boston Gazette, November 9, 16, 23, 30, 1767; Providence Gazette, December 12, 1767.

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, nos. 36, 50, 51 (canvas), 73, 74, 80–95 (linen); Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 222, 226–227, 230–232, 239, 240–250, 275 (condition of the poor), xviii. 71, 73. For New York, cf. Becker, op. cit., p. 71.

[3] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 243.

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the Long Room of George Burn's tavern, the old house of James De Lancey, and there passed resolutions constituting the first non-importation agreement in America. The merchants engaged that none of them should order any goods from England till the Stamp Act was repealed, that the orders already sent out, and not executed, should be countermanded, with certain exceptions, and that they would accept no goods on commission or assist in the sale of any sent there. This agreement was signed by two hundred merchants, while the retailers, a few days afterwards, promised "not to buy any goods, wares or merchandize of any person or persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of January next, unless the Stamp Act shall be repealed." [1] The Albany merchants, always influenced by the policy of their New York brethren, entered into a similar agreement in January, 1766.[2]

The merchants of Philadelphia, "in imitation of the noble example of New York," gathered together, in November, 1765, and to the number of three hundred and seventy signed a memorial and entered into a non-importation agreement. The memorial laid stress on the drain of specie, due to the balance of trade, which was heavily against Pennsylvania, even under the most favorable conditions. The terms of the agreement were these: (1) To instruct their correspondents in England not to ship goods until the Stamp Act was repealed; (2) to countermand all orders for goods, except in the case of such merchants as were owners of vessels already gone or clearing for Great Britain, who were at liberty to bring back in them coals, casks of earthenware, grindstones, pipes, iron pots, empty bottles, and such other bulky articles as owners were accustomed to load as ballast, but no dry goods of any kind, except such dyestuffs and utensils as were necessary for carrying on manufactures; (3) to continue non-importation until May 1, 1766.[3]

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[1] Boston Gazette, November 11, 18, 1765; New York Colonial Documents, vii. 800; Becker, op. cit., p. 30.

[2] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, January 27, 1766.

[3] Boston Gazette, November 25, 1765; Massachusetts Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society). This document is not in the printed collection. The committee appointed to see that this agreement was carried out consisted of Thomas Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James.

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Of the three leading seaports, Boston was the last to act. On November 25th the Boston Gazette hoped that Philadelphia's example would be followed by the merchants of this and other American ports, and appealed to householders generally to refuse to buy English goods, "even though it should be to the ruin of a few private and selfish men." Once a beginning were made, it said, the spirit would "ketch from town to town and province to province, than which nothing can more contribute to a speedy redress of our grievances." The Boston merchants were quick to respond. On November 30th the call for a meeting was sent out to be held on December 3d, in the afternoon, at the British Coffee House, and there an agreement was adopted, which was renewed and recast in more formal fashion on the 9th, and signed by over two hundred merchants. The terms were substantially the same as those of Philadelphia, except in the list of exemptions, which included hemp, canvas, salt, coals, grindstones, pipes, empty bottles, wool-cards, brimstone, copperas, dyeing stuffs, utensils for carrying on manufactures, and such articles as might be absolutely necessary for carrying on the fishery. The resolves were to be binding on all subscribers, as soon as two hundred of those who were engaged in trade in Massachusetts had signed it, and was to last until May 5, 1766. By December 16th the required number had been obtained, and the news was brought to Boston that the merchants and traders of both Salem and Marblehead had "unanimously come into the same resolve."[1] The combined action of the three leading cities had the desired effect. Through the efforts of the British merchants, who spared no pains to accomplish the result, the Stamp Act was repealed. The first effort at non-importation was successful because the merchants on

[1] Boston Gazette, December 2, 9, 16, 1765. The credit of originating the plan of non-importation has been given to Samuel Adams, but even if we could believe that one man, and he not a merchant, could have conceived the idea, the evidence is not sufficient to warrant the assertion. There is nothing whatever in Adams's writings to show that non-importation was in his mind at this time. The sentence printed in Wells, Life of Adams, i. 80–82, at best refers to non-consumption and not to non-importation, and probably was not written by Adams at all. Cushing does not include the instruction in which the sentence occurs in his edition of Adams's Writings. It is not until the merchants had had their meeting of March 1, 1768, that Adams comes out with a statement which might possibly be construed as referring to non-importation. The plan, by whomsoever broached, did not have its rise in Boston.

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both sides of the water confined their statements of grievances to matters of trade and finance.

But an opportunity for a second and more noteworthy experiment soon came. On June 29, 1767, the Townshend Act, which levied a duty on glass, lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper, became a law, to go into effect the 20th of November following. The non-consumption campaign was in full vigor and the merchants, deeming the new imposts less injurious to trade than the other burdens and restrictions, at first confined their non-importing activities to articles of luxury, under the agreement of October 28, 1767.[1] But the events of the winter of 1767–1768 and the manner in which the American Board of Customs Commissioners put the act into execution must have influenced the merchants to revive the expedient of 1765 and to adopt again the plan of stopping, under certain limitations, the importing of goods from Great Britain. On March 1, 1768, a meeting of the Body, made up of ninety-eight merchants, was held at the British Coffee House, and with William Phillips as moderator voted to try again the non-importation plan. The Body chose a committee, of which John Rowe was chairman and Edward Payne secretary. This committee met on the 3d and again in an all-day session on the 4th and framed the articles of the agreement. The report was unanimously approved at the meeting of the Body on the evening of the 4th, and, among others, the following articles were adopted:

Voted, That we will not for one year send for any European Commodities Excepting Salt, Coals, Fish hooks and lines, Hemp and Duck, Barr-lead and Shott, Wool-cards and Card-wire.

Voted, That in the purchase of such articles as we shall stand in need of we will give a constant preference to such Persons as shall subscribe to these Resolutions.

Voted, That we will in our separate capacities inform our several Correspondents of the Reasons and point out to them the Necessity of withholding our usual order for their Manufactures, to the end that the said Impediments may be removed and Trade and Commerce may again flourish.

Voted, That these Votes and Resolutions be obligatory or binding

[1] James Bowdoin as a subscriber to the agreement refused to import a set of Boydell's engravings (6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 84–85).

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on us from and after the time that these or other similar or tending to the same salutary purpose be adopted by most of the principal trading Towns in this and the neighboring colonies.[1]

In obtaining subscriptions to this agreement, certain questions arose which were dealt with at an adjourned meeting on the 9th, when it was voted that subscribers were "bound not to forward their orders for any goods till the first Tuesday in May" (1768), in order that the "determination of the merchants and traders in the neighbouring Towns and Colonies" might be known, and a committee was appointed, John Hancock, chairman, John Rowe, Edward Payne, William Phillips, Melatiah Bourne, Henderson Inches, and John Erving, Jr., "to correspond with the Merchants in the other Trading Towns and Provinces." Letters were sent out on the 16th by this committee to points as far south as Charles Town, urging the merchants to coöperate in the non-importation movement, on the ground that a refusal to import goods would procure relief and be of more service than any remonstrance.[2] In response to this letter, the Providence merchants met on the 17th and adopted the agreement. Two weeks later the merchants of New York began a series of meetings, at one of which, held at Bolton and Sigel's tavern on April 8th, was established the New York Chamber of Commerce,[3] composed of twenty-four merchants, organized for the purpose of "encouraging commerce, supporting industry, adjusting disputes relative to trade and navigation, and procuring such laws and regulations as [might] be found necessary for the benefit of trade in general." A week later, acting on the report of a committee appointed to obtain the general sentiment of the merchants, importers, and retailers, a non-importation agreement was entered upon, constituting a voluntary engagement to each other that they would not "sell on their own accounts or on commission, nor buy or sell for any per-

[1] As illustrating the interest taken in the non-importation situation, attention may be called to the appearance of the following subject among the Quaestiones, announced for debate at the coming Commencement of Harvard College, in July, 1768:

IX. An contractus mercatorii, ad perniciem publicam tendentes, obligant.

[2] Massachusetts Papers (MS.), no. 87. This document is printed, not quite accurately, in Massachusetts Papers, p. 58. Also see Rowe's Diary, under dates given.

[3] Memorial History of New York, iv. 516.

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son whomsoever any goods [save a very few enumerated articles] which shall be shipped from Great Britain after October 1, 1768, until the acts are repealed," providing Boston and Philadelphia adopted similar measures by June 1st, following.[1]

Letters were immediately sent to the merchants of Philadelphia and Boston, and on the 25th the former, with the letters of both Boston and New York before them, met at "The Lodge," and after listening to an address on the grievances of the colony[2] took into consideration the question of non-importation. No decision was reached at this meeting, and during July the merchants continued to meet and to consider a number of objections, chief among which was the fear lest non-importation according to the New York plan should "serve to create a monopoly by enabling the merchants with capital to lay in a large stock of the proscribed commodities before the agreement became effective."[3] Boston on the other hand

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[1] New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, April 18, 1768.

[2] "Gentlemen: You are called together to consider what answer shall be returned to the Brethren of Boston and New York, who desire to know whether we will unite with them in stopping the importation of goods from Great Britain until certain acts are repealed."

The speaker then recounted the special grievances of Pennsylvania:

1. The law against steel and steel furnaces.
2. The law against plating and slitting mills.
3. The law against carrying wool freely from one colony to another.
4. The prohibition against sending logwood to foreign markets.
5. The obligation to carry Portuguese and Spanish wines to England.
6. The duty on Madeira wines.
7. The emptying of British jails upon the province.
8. The restrictions upon the fisheries and the duties on foreign molasses and sugars.
9. The necessity of supplying themselves with goods through England at 20 per cent and even 40 per cent increase.
10. The Stamp Act, Declaratory Act, and Townshend Act (Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides).

[3] Becker, op. cit., p. 62. The Pennsylvania Chronicle, July 23, 1768, contains a list of fourteen queries proposed to the committee of the Philadelphia merchants, "now sitting," for consideration, each raising the question as to the wisdom of the New York agreement. The writer asks "Whether precipitate combination, at the time of great distress in England, to import no British manufactures would not be a means of irritating and making enemies of the inhabitants of Great Britain at the same time distressing ourselves." The writer urges patience and reasonableness, manufacturing and getting on without the taxed goods, and says that what may be prudent in the eastern governments (New York and New Eng-

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acted at once. On May 2, 1768, the whole Body met in the Representatives Room in the Town House, and there accepted the resolutions of New York, binding themselves not to write for any goods after June 1st nor to import any after October 1st, until the Townshend duties were removed. On the same day Gloucester, probably acting on the Boston letter of March 16th, promised to stop importation for a year from the date of the meeting.[1]

Hillsborough's circular letter of April 21, 1768, to the governors of all the colonies in America, roused a great deal of resentment among the colonists. It was called out by the general letter issued on February 11th by the speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and was addressed to the speaker of the assembly of each colony upon the continent of North America, and characterized that letter as "of a most dangerous and factious tendency calculated to inflame the minds of the king's subjects in America." Such an interpretation was rightly deemed unjust and absurd. Hillsborough's further demand that the governors persuade their assemblies to ignore the letter and to treat it "with the contempt it deserved" created in the colonists a deeper sense of their common interest and so furthered the cause of non-importation. This ill-advised measure, taken in conjunction with the attempts made in the summer of 1768 to enforce the acts of trade, not only added to the grievances of the importers and merchants generally but strengthened their determination to persist in their work. On July 18th, the Standing Committee, consisting of John Rowe, John Hancock, Edward Payne, Henderson Inches, Melatiah Bourne, and Thomas Boylston, met at the British Coffee House, and on the 25th issued a call for a general meeting at

land) may be imprudent in the middle and southern, "seeing we widely differ in many circumstances."

[1] The following is the Gloucester agreement:

"We whose names are underwritten are of opinion that every legal measure for freeing the country from the present embarrassments should be adopted, and among others the stopping the importation of goods from Great Britain. We promise that we will not for one year from the above date [May 2, 1768] write for any goods, except such as are absolutely necessary for the carrying on the Fishery and that we will not take any English goods to sell on commission and we further promise that we will write to our correspondents and desire their interest and influence to put a stop to growing evils of offices that are multiplying among us." Epes Sargent, Nathaniel Allen, Daniel Sargent, Winthrop Sargent, William Ellery, Jr. (Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 38).

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Faneuil Hall, "to consult measures for the better regulation of the trade." The general meeting was postponed until August 1st, but on the 28th the committee drew up the following resolutions:

The Merchants and Traders in the Town of Boston, having taken into consideration the deplorable situation of the Trade and the many difficulties it at present labours under on account of the scarcity of money, which is daily decreasing for want of other remittances to discharge our debts in Great Britain and the large sums collected by the officers of the Customs for duties on goods imported — the heavy taxes levied to discharge the debts contracted by the governments in the late warr — the embarrassments and restrictions laid on the Trade by the several late acts of parliament, together with the bad success of our Cod Fishery this season and the discouraging prospect of the Whale Fishery by which our principal sources of Remittances are like to be greatly diminished, and we thereby rendered unable to pay the debts we owe the Merchants in Great Britain and to continue the importation of goods from thence,

We, the subscribers, in order to relieve the Trade under those discouragements, to promote industry, frugality and oeconomy and to discourage luxury and every kind of extravegance, do promise and engage to and with each other as follows.

That we will not send for or import from Great Britain this Fall, either on our own account or on commission, any other goods than what are already ordered for the Fall supply.

That we will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandize from Great Britain, either on our own account or on commission or any otherwise, from January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1770, except salt, coals, fishhooks and lines, hemp, duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards and card-wire.

That we will not purchase of any factors or others any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1770.

That we will not import on our own account or on commission or purchase from any who shall import from any other colony in America from January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1770, any tea, glass, paper, or other goods commonly imported from Great Britain.

That we will not from and after January 1, 1769, import into the province any tea, paper, glass, or painters' colours until the acts imposing duties on these articles have been repealed.[1]

These resolutions were presented to the Whole Body when it finally met at Faneuil Hall on August 1, 1768, and were there formally

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 71.

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adopted, "with greater unanimity than was shown in the time of the Stamp Act."[1] There were present at the meeting, however, but sixty-two merchants, of whom sixty entered their names as subscribers,[2] thus constituting a new body, the Subscribers, within the older group of those who had become members of the Society in 1763, and a very much smaller number than were those who signed the agreement in 1765. Already the old organization was breaking up. Though between August 1st and 8th the number of subscribers was increased, the increase does not appear to have been marked, and it is likely that the meeting of August 8th, at which one hundred were present, was a gathering of those only who had promised to support the movement.[3] The lead of Boston was followed by adjoining towns. Salem, after many meetings held between August 23d and September 6th, finally adopted on the latter date the Boston resolutions without alteration.[4] Other towns did the same, and where formal agreements were wanting resolutions of approval were passed in town meeting.[5]

The New York merchants, acting under the influence of the Boston agreement and hoping to meet the objections of the Philadelphia merchants, now reconsidered the situation, and entered into a new arrangement of a much more detailed and definite character. On August 27, 1768, they subscribed the following resolves:

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[1] Boston Gazette, August 15, 1768.

[2] Rowe, Diary, August 1, 1768. The proceedings and agreement are given in full in the Boston Chronicle, May 1, 1769, and the agreement is printed in John Mein's pamphlet to be mentioned later.

[3] Rowe, Diary, August 2 and 8, 1768.

[4] The situation in Salem was aggravated by the division in the town between Rescinders and Non Rescinders. Four of the Salem merchants were among the seventeen members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives who voted to rescind the resolutions upon which the letter of February 11th was based, and they had to defend themselves against the attack of their fellow townsmen (Boston Gazette, July 25, August 1, 1768).

[5] As at Norwich: "We give this public testimony of our hearty and unanimous approbation of the resolutions the merchants have entered into to stop the importation of British goods; we will frown upon all who endeavour to frustrate these good designs, and avoid all correspondence with those merchants who shall dare to violate these obligations" (January 29, 1770, Caulkins, History of Norwich, p. 369).

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That we will not send for from Great Britain, either upon our own account or on commission, this Fall, any other goods than what we have already ordered.

That we will not import any kind of merchandize from Great Britain, either on our own account or on commission or any otherwise, nor purchase from any factor or others, any kind of goods imported from Great Britain directly or by way of any of the other colonies or by way of the West Indies that shall be shipped from Great Britain after November 1, until the fore-mentioned acts of parliament imposing duties on paper, glass, tea, or painters' colours be repealed, except only coals, salt, sailcloth, wool-cards and card-wire, grindstones, chalk, lead, tin, sheet-copper, and German steel.

We further agree not to import any kind of merchandize from Hamburgh and Holland directly from thence, nor by any other way whatever, more than what we have already ordered (except tiles and bricks).

We also promise to countermand all orders given for Great Britain, on or since the 16th inst., by the first conveyance, ordering those goods not to be sent unless the fore-mentioned duties are taken off.

And we further agree that if any person or persons, subscribers thereto, shall take any advantage by importing any kind of goods that are herein restricted, directly or indirectly, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this agreement such person or persons shall by us be deemed enemies to this country.

Lastly, we agree that if any goods shall be consigned or sent over to us, contrary to our agreement in this subscription, such goods so imported shall be lodged in some public warehouse, there to be kept under confinement until the fore-mentioned acts are repealed.

This agreement was signed "by nearly all the merchants in town," and several days later, on September 5th, the retailers and tradesmen made a formal promise to support the merchants and to refrain from dealing with such of them as did not adhere to or subscribe the articles adopted on August 27th.[1]

This revised and enlarged agreement of the New York merchants, though showing traces of Boston influence, is a distinct advance in the direction of greater fulness and rigidity. For the first time violators were construed as "enemies of the country," for the first time the requirement was made that goods sent contrary to the agreement should be stored in warehouses until the acts were repealed,

[1] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, September 12, 1768. Printed also in a supplement to the Boston Gazette, September 19, 1768.

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and for the first time since 1765 the retail merchants entered formally into the movement. The promise to countermand all orders sent since August 16th and to import no goods from Holland or Hamburg seem designed on the one hand to prevent an accumulation of goods and so to meet the Philadelphia charge of monopoly, on the other to put a stop to smuggling from the European Continent contrary to the Act of 1663.[1] When the news of New York's action reached Boston, it was greeted with manifest approval. At a town meeting held on September 13th, a vote was passed expressing "high satisfaction," [2] and at Providence an agreement was entered into in town meeting on October 24th, similar to that of New York.

Philadelphia had thus far taken no part in the movement, and expressions of contempt because of the "tame disposition" of the Philadelphians began to appear. One New York writer, probably angry at the objections raised by the Philadelphia merchants, wrote:

It is said that it is owing only to a few dry goods merchants that the agreement is not made. It is a most melancholy consideration that only a few inhabitants of one City, contemptible to the last degree for their mercenary principles and abject pusilanimity should be able to obstruct and even disconcert measures so universally applauded. That Merchants of Dry Goods, a business, which though at some times neces-

[1] Professor Becker says in commenting on these resolutions: "If the provision making the agreement effective in part from August 16 was designed to meet the charge of monopoly, the provision regarding the Dutch trade was probably designed to prevent, in part at least, the smuggling from Holland. Thus early the two-fold weakness of the non-importation policy was manifest: if sufficiently comprehensive it gave a monopoly to those who inaugurated it; if limited to England, it enriched the smuggler" (op. cit., p. 63). The distinction here made seems to me too precise. There is ample evidence to show that the richer merchants, certainly in Boston and Philadelphia, suffered heavily for their self-denial. Take the case of John Barrett & Sons of Boston, who countermanded their English orders two months before the agreement was signed, and that of the merchants of Philadelphia mentioned in Drinker's letter (Pennsylvania Magazine, xiv. 43) who felt the "present stagnation the most severely." While it may be that the retailers depended on smuggling for their profits, I have seen no sufficient evidence to prove the point, nor does Professor Becker furnish such.

[2] "The Honble Thomas Cushing, Esq. communicated to the Town a Letter lately received from a Committee of Merchants in the City of New York, acquainting him with their Agreement relative to a Non-Importation of British Goods. Whereupon the Town by a Vote expressed their high satisfaction therein" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 264).

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sary, certainly drains the colonies of their specie, more than all other professions put together (even that of the lawyers not excepted) — that this least useful part of the community should be able to do this is humiliating and contemptible and all people and tradesmen should treat them as they deserve.[1]

But Philadelphia was reaching the end of her vacillation. On September 28, 1768, Stephen Collins wrote:

> There is some combination at present in agitation respecting non-importing goods on account of the duties, etc, as there is a meeting advertised for that purpose to-morrow, but I rather think they will not succeed in so injudicious a step.[2]

In November, 1768, and again in February, 1769, the Philadelphia merchants drafted and sent memorials to the merchants of England, recounting their grievances and urging intervention in their behalf. In the first memorial, which was based on an earlier draft of November 1, 1765, they confined themselves to trade restrictions, but in the second, which was printed and sent to individual correspondents in all the English cities, they declared the acts of parliament to be unconstitutional and destructive of their rights as British subjects, and they said that unless their trade was speedily relieved from "those unnatural and useless fetters" commerce between Great Britain and the colonies must of necessity greatly diminish and the general importation of goods suddenly cease.[3]

In this memorial of February 6, 1769, the Philadelphia merchants raised for the first time, as far as the merchants were concerned, the constitutional claim, which, though frequently and strongly presented hitherto by individuals, town meetings, and general assemblies, had not as yet been taken up by the traders and importers in their complaints. In so doing the Philadelphians were changing their status as merchants into that of patriots and radicals. It was

[1] One is reminded of Pitt's famous characterization of traders and merchants, as "Little, paltry, peddling fellows, venders of two penny wares and falsehoods, who under the idea of trade, sell everything in their power — honour, truth, conscience," etc. In Charles Town, South Carolina, a wholesale dealer was respectable but a retail dealer was not, and even a wholesale or commission merchant must deal in indigo and rice and not in other things.

[2] Collins Papers.

[3] Pennsylvania Journal, February 9, 1769. Printed in full in the Boston Chronicle, February 13, 1769, where it occupies three and a half columns.

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a significant change, for just as the resolutions of the New York and Massachusetts assemblies aroused resentment in England, because of the stress laid upon rights and privileges and the so-called illegal and unconstitutional encroachments of crown and parliament, claims which Englishmen could not understand and would not tolerate, so now the appearance of the same argument in the merchants' memorial offended many of their English friends, and chilled the enthusiasm of many of those who had been chiefly responsible for the repeal of the Stamp Act and were in the main sympathetic to the American side of the case, as long as it concerned trade grievances only. The memorial [1] reached England at about the same time as did the petition of the New York assembly [2] of December 17th to the House of Lords and the resolutions of the same body adopted December 31st, the latter of which, we are told, so exasperated the House of Commons that the merchants' plea had no chance of consideration. Many of the British merchants wrote to America that the time was not opportune for energetic action on their part, but that as parliament was probably favorable to a repeal of the Townshend Act, it would be better to wait. They urged upon their friends in America to abstain from violence, apply themselves steadily to the encouragement of frugality and manufactures, adhere to non-importation, and say less about the constitutional issue. The Philadelphia merchants were highly esteemed in England and their relations with their English correspondents are exceedingly instructive, but unfortunately for the hope of a peaceful settlement of the dispute, the advice from England was disregarded, and from this time forward both acts of violence and renewals of the constitutional claims served but to widen the breach.[3]

[1] There were four memorials from the merchants of Philadelphia: those of November, 1765; November, 1768; February 6, 1769; and March 10, 1769. The last was sent only to the merchants of London.

[2] The petition of the New York assembly to the House of Lords is printed in the New York Gazette, April 17, 1768, and in the Pennsylvania Journal, April 20, 1768.

[3] "Had a petition come over from your merchants on the principle of inexpediency instead of from your assembly denying the right, the law would ere now have been repealed" (Letter from London, Pennsylvania Chronicle, April 3, 1769). The advice to stick to the non-consumption and non-importation agreements and avoid riots, mobs, and such illegal measures, and lay less stress upon constitutional rights, came from men who were certain to lose by the process and

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At the meetings of February 6th and March 10th the Philadelphia merchants finally committed themselves to the cause of non-importation.[1] Though I can give no copy of the final compact, its terms are probably much the same as those of Newcastle County, Delaware, which were adopted on August 28, 1769,[2] and reproduce those of Philadelphia, as did the New Haven terms reproduce those of New York, and the Salem and Gloucester terms those of Boston. The compact, which is deserving of careful study, runs as follows:

We the subscribers, freeholders, and freemen, of the County of New-Castle, upon Deleware, taking into consideration, that our trade is restricted, our rights invaded, arbitrary courts, wholy dependent upon ministers, erected over us, our present security destroyed, by some late acts of the British parliament; and that a plan is laid, and measures adopted in our mother country, which, if carried into execution, must soon deprive us of even the shadow of liberty, and of everything that is dear and valuable to English-men; And, being of the opinion, that it

so were based on honest conviction. That there was less sympathy for the American cause among the British merchants in 1769 than there had been in 1765 is unmistakable, and there is nothing to account for it except the advance in the American claims. Thomas Hutchinson, who represented conservative opinion, wrote to Israel Williams of Hatfield, May 9, 1769: "If we could be prudent, I think I may say only silent, we might save the country and retain the rights we contend for or which is the same thing might rest assured that parliament would not exercise the right of taxing which they claim, and we may be assured will not give up, but if we will go on denying the right and asserting our independence the nation will by force compell us to acknowledge it. I wish this force may be kept off as long as you and I live" (Williams Papers).

[1] I have not been able to find a copy of the Philadelphia resolutions. That such were drawn up at the meetings mentioned above is clear from later allusions. For example, certain shipments were declared contrary "to the agreements entered into by the merchants and traders of this city on February 6 and March 10" (Pennsylvania Chronicle, July 24, 1769). On August 2, the merchants of Philadelphia met at the Coffee House and resolved "that the committee shall not be at liberty to receive and store any goods consigned after the agreement of the merchants here not to import was known in Great Britain nor such as were ordered after the 6th of February last" (ibid. August 7, 1769). On June 5, 1770, a meeting was held in Philadelphia at which it was voted to adhere to the agreement entered into March 10, 1769, "almost unanimously" (Pennsylvania Gazette, June 14, 1770). Drinker speaks definitely of the "agreement formed on the 10 of March" (Pennsylvania Magazine, xiv. 42). Stephen Collins gives the date of the first agreement as "2mo 1 1769." This may be an error for February 6, or it may be that the first agreement was drafted on the 1st and ratified on the 6th.

[2] South Carolina Gazette, October 12, 1769.

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is not only lawful, but our indispensible duty, to use our utmost influence to avert the calamity, misery and slavery, impending over us, and all our bretheren in North-America; and apprehending that the agreements of the merchants, and traders of these colonies, not to import certain enumerated articles from any part of Great-Britain, until the said acts of parliament are repealed, are wise, just and salutary, and will have a great tendency to this end; DO hereby testify and declare our approbation of them to prefer the future welfare of their country to their present private emolument.

In order to contribute our mite to this public and patriotic work, and willing to co-operate, as far as in us lies, with those advocates and friends to liberty and their country, do hereby mutually promise, declare and agree, upon our word, honour, and the faith of Christians;

I. That from and after this date we will not import, or bring into any part of America, any goods, wares or merchandizes what soever, from Great-Britain, contrary to the spirit and intentions of the agreement of the merchants of the City of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania

II. That we *never will* have any dealings, commerce or intercourse whatsoever, with *any man*, residing in any part of the British Dominions, who shall for lucre, or any other purpose, import, or bring, into any part of America, any article or thing contrary to the said agreement.

III. That any one of us, who shall *wilfully* break this compact, shall have his name published in the public news-papers as a betrayer of the civil and religious rights of Americans, and be for ever after deemed *infamous* and *an enemy* to this country.[1]

Thus step by step the northern colonies were closing their ports to British goods. Albany came in during the summer of 1769.[2]

[1] The following additional information is given by the newspaper:

We hear that a number of the principal freeholders of the said County, assembled at Christiana-Bridge, on Saturday last, in pursuance of notice given for that purpose, when the occasion of their meeting, the grievances complained of by North-Americans, and the most probable methods of obtaining redress, were opened, and fully explained, and the above compact was read, approved, and signed by all present. It is said that it will soon be signed by every freeholder and freeman in the country, and that the other counties in that government will immediately follow the example.

Some resolutions were made, nemine contradicente, in favour of persons, not inhabitants of the county, who should be so weak as to import any goods there contrary to the agreement; particularly, that they should be stored, effectually secured, and taken care of, until the obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed, except the same should be prevented by the imprudence of the owners.

[2] Albany acted very much under the influence of New York, but the merchants

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Salem, Marblehead, and Gloucester had already adopted the Boston terms, and New Haven, which had received an urgent letter from New York in April, now on July 10th entered the ranks.[1] Though Nantucket refused to bind herself formally by any engagement, her merchants were in spirit and practice sympathetic to the cause. The Connecticut assembly on October 9, 1769, passed resolutions expressing warm approval of the agreements,[2] and on the 18th the New Jersey assembly formally extended its thanks to New York and Philadelphia for "their disinterested and public spirited conduct."[3] Providence gave in her accession on October 10th,[4] Newport on October 30th,[5] Wethersfield on December 25th,[6] Middletown[7] on February 20, 1770, Watertown[8] in March, and Falmouth (Portland) on June 26th of that year.[9] Many inland towns, such as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, which received their goods from the seaboard importers, agreed not to deal with those who broke the compact.[10] In the country districts where non-importation was a matter of less serious consequence than it was in the seaports, the plan was seized upon with avidity, and the town meetings passed resolutions, often

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there wished to include among the exempted commodities such Indian goods as blankets, strouds, penistones, gimps, linens, vermilions, and brass kettles. The New York merchants would not agree to this and compelled them to adopt the New York plan. There is some uncertainty as to the date, but it was before July, 1769. Some of the Albany merchants were restless under this agreement, as the increasing scarcity of Indian goods not only interfered with trade, but also rendered less cordial the relations with the Indians, who suspected a conspiracy against themselves and could not understand why the traffic in furs stopped and presents were no longer given. See p. 240, below. Albany undoubtedly broke the agreement early, by importing what she wanted through Quebec and Montreal.

[1] Pennsylvania Chronicle, July 31, 1769; Boston Gazette, August 6, 1770. The New Haven agreement was signed by all at the meeting and was distributed to all in the town and the adjoining neighborhood.

[2] Connecticut Colonial Records, xiii. 236 note.

[3] New Jersey Archives, xxvi. 546.

[4] Providence Gazette, October 14, 21, 1769. Staples gives the date October 24. The meeting of the 10th was probably that of the merchants.

[5] Newport Mercury, November 6, 1769; Newport Historical Magazine, iii. 253–257.

[6] Wethersfield Town Records, under date, printed in Stiles, Ancient Wethersfield, i. 419–420.

[7] Middletown Town Records, under date.

[8] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 8.

[9] Boston Gazette, June 9, 1770. Text in full.

[10] Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter, July 5, 1770.

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extravagant and denunciatory, against the importation of English and Scottish goods.[1] Portsmouth alone of all the seaports of the North remained open to British trade. Though many attempts were made to bring the merchants there into line, beginning with the town meeting of July 8, 1768, and the first call of a merchants' meeting on September 12th, no decision was reached and Portsmouth remained permanently outside the movement.[2]

The South, though acting more slowly, was already keenly alive to the significance of what was taking place. Conditions there were in some ways essentially different from those in the North, for the grievances of the tobacco and rice colonies were bound to vary from those of the bread and provision colonies. The South suffered much less than the Middle Colonies and New England from the trade restrictions and could present no such series of grievances as had been drawn up by the Boston merchants. But the South did suffer from the scarcity of money, and was as deeply impressed as were the colonists anywhere with the so-called illegal and oppressive features of British policy. The southerners were equally ready to encourage frugality, promote manufactures, oppose importation, denounce unconstitutionality, uphold liberty and self-government, and persecute those who differed from them as enemies of the country, as were those of the North, but they omitted many features of the agreements that the North had included, included at least one, regarding negroes, that the North had omitted, and in the case of the tobacco colonies defined non-importation in terms that were much less re-

[1] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 20, 1769; Boston Gazette, July 31, 1769. One of the most remarkable series of resolutions is that of Abington, Mass. Section 9 reads: "Voted as the opinion of this town that the agreement of the merchants and traders of the Town of Boston relative to non-importation has a natural and righteous tendency to frustrate the scheme of the enemies of the constitution, and to render ineffectual the said unconstitutional and unrighteous acts, and is a superlative instance of self-denial and public virtue, which we hope will be handed down to posterity, even to the latest generation, to their immortal honour" (Essex Gazette, April 3, 1770). These resolves gave the New York brethren "infinite pleasure." "How many ages hence," they said, "in unborn states and with accents yet unknown, shall these manly and noble resolves be recited" (ibid. May 5, 1770).

[2] The Portsmouth merchants were summoned to meet at the house of John Stavers, September 12, 1768, but want of accord led to the postponement of the meeting to the 16th, then to the 23d, and then indefinitely (New Hampshire Gazette, September 9, 1768). See pp. 233 note 1, 239, below.

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strictive. The resolutions of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina were essentially the same in principle. Instead of promising to import no British goods, with a few exemptions, they allowed the "associators" to import all British goods except such as were carefully specified and such as were taxed by parliament, and they limited the operation of the agreement to the time when the repeal of the acts should take place. Thus the three "associations" were less rigid in their terms than were the agreements of the North, and left the merchants free to import many goods that the northerners bound themselves to exclude.

The first non-importation agreement entered into south of Pennsylvania and Delaware was that of Virginia. Early in April, 1769, Dr. Ross of Bladensburg forwarded to Washington at Mount Vernon the resolves of the Philadelphia merchants, and he in turn sent them to his neighbor, George Mason at Gunston Hall, recommending them for consideration. The latter agreeing with Ross and Washington that something ought to be done, drafted a body of resolutions, suitable for the colony. These resolutions were adopted on May 18, 1769, by the members of the House of Burgesses, which had just been dissolved by the governor, Lord Botetourt, for protesting against parliamentary taxation, and by certain merchants and traders who happened to be in Williamsburg at the time, eighty-eight altogether, meeting in the house of Anthony Hay. After a long preamble and an opening frugality clause, the resolutions proceed as follows:

Secondly, That they will not at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, import or cause to be imported any manner of goods, merchandise, or manufactures, which are or shall hereafter be taxed by act of parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue in America (except paper not exceeding eight shillings sterling per ream and except such articles only as orders have been already sent for) nor purchase any such after the first day of September next, of any persons whatsoever. . . .

Thirdly, That the subscribers will not hereafter, directly or indirectly, import or cause to be imported, from Great Britain or any part of Europe . . . any of the goods hereinafter enumerated, viz, spirits, wine, cider, perry, beer, ale, malt, barley, pease, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, tallow, candles, oil, fruit, sugar, pickles, confectionary, pewter, hoes, axes, watches, clocks, tables, chairs, looking glasses, carriages, joiners and cabinet work of all sorts, upholstery of all sorts, trinkets and jew-

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ellery, plate and gold, and silversmiths' work of all sorts, ribband and millinery of all sorts, lace of all sorts, India goods of all sorts (except spices), silks of all sorts (except sewing silk), cambric, lawn, muslin, gauze (except bolting cloths), calico or cotton stuffs of more than two shillings per yard, linen of more than two shillings per yard, woolens, worsted stuffs of all sorts of more than one shilling and sixpence per yard, broad cloths of all kinds at more than eight shillings per yard, narrow cloths of all kinds at more than three shillings per yard, hats, stockings (plaid and Irish hose excepted), shoes and boots, saddles, and all manufactures of leather and skins of all kinds, until the late acts of parliament imposing on tea, paper, glass, etc, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America are repealed. . . .

Fourthly, That in all orders which any of the subscribers may hereafter send to Great Britain, they shall and will expressly direct their correspondents not to ship them any of the before enumerated goods until the before mentioned acts of parliament are repealed; and if any goods are shipped to them, contrary to the tenour of this agreement, they will refuse to take the same, or make themselves chargeable therewith.

Fifthly, That they will not import any slaves, or purchase any imported, after the first day of November next, until the said acts are repealed.

Sixthly, That they will not import wines of any kind whatever. . . .

Seventhly, For the better preservation of the breed of sheep, that they will not kill or suffer to be killed, any lambs that shall be weaned before the first day of May, in any year. . . .

Eighthly and lastly, That these resolves shall be binding on all and each of the subscribers. . . .[1]

Maryland came in about a month later. On the day after the meeting at Williamsburg, the merchants of Ann Arundel county issued a call for a convention to be held at Annapolis on May 23d. There the "associators" bound themselves not to send any orders to Great Britain until June 30th and not to import any goods whatever "contrary to the spirit and design of the association." Similar associations were organized in the other counties. Finally on June 22, 1769, representatives from all the counties came together at Annapolis and entered into a general agreement similar to that of Virginia. It was more elaborate, emphasized more conspicuously

[1] Printed in the Boston Chronicle, June 8, 1769, and in Burk, History of Virginia, iii. 345–349.

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the constitutional claim, had a much more detailed list of commodities not to be imported, with more exemptions, and a more rigorous local boycotting clause. It also left out the fifth clause of the Virginia resolutions and added another binding the "tradesmen and manufactures" not to raise prices, but to sell everything at the accustomed rates. The agreement was signed by forty-three persons.[1]

South Carolina was reported to be ready to enter into a non-importation agreement as early as March, 1769, and the merchants and planters of Charles Town were looking seriously into the question of superfluities, the drain of money, and the amount spent for slaves, but it was not until June 27th that a body of the inhabitants, including twenty-five members of the general assembly, adopted a set of non-importation resolutions, and about ten days later that the merchants adopted another version. After considerable manœuvring, the two plans were consolidated and agreed upon at a general meeting on July 22d. This consolidated plan had been framed the week before by a joint committee and was designed to comprise all the essential parts of the two forms already adopted and circulated for subscribers. The new resolutions were signed by one hundred and forty-two planters, merchants, and mechanics, and a committee of about forty was selected to give force to the association.[2] The preamble and resolutions are as follows:

We, His Majesty's dutiful and loving Subjects, the Inhabitants of South-Carolina, being sensibly affected with the great Prejudice done to Great Britain, and the abject and wretched condition to which the British Colonies are reduced by several Acts of Parliament lately passed; by *some of which* the Monies that the Colonists usually and chearfully

[1] "The Proceedings of the Committee appointed to examine into the Importation of Goods by the Brigandine Good Intent Capt. Errington, from London in February, 1770," Annapolis, 1770. Reprinted in the Maryland Magazine, iii. nos. 2, 3, 4. See also the Eden-Hillsborough correspondence (ibid. ii. 228–229, 234, 239, 244). The resolutions are printed in this pamphlet (Maryland Magazine, iii. 144–147); Maryland Gazette, June 29, 1769; Boston Chronicle, July 10, 1769; and Scharf, History of Maryland, i. 111–114.

[2] South Carolina Gazette, June 29, July 6, 27, 1769. The early history of the South Carolina draft is confusing. John Gordon wrote that the resolutions of July 22 were the seventh form of agreement and the fifth to be subscribed, and though he was one of the first to coöperate, he was tired of being bandied about from resolution to resolution (South Carolina Gazette, September 14, 1769).

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spent in the Purchase of all Sorts of Goods imported from Great Britain, are now, to their great Grievance, wrung from them, without their Consent, or even their being representated, and applied by the Ministry, in Prejudice of, and without Regard to, the real Interest of Great-Britain, or the Manufactures thereof, almost totally, to the Support of new-created Commissioners of Customs, Placemen, parasitical and novel ministerial Officers; and *by others of which Acts*, we are not only deprived of those invaluable Rights, Trial by our Peers and the Common Law, but are also made subject to the arbitrary and oppressive Proceedings of the Civil Law, justly abhorred and rejected by our Ancestors, the Free-Men of England; and finding, that the most dutiful and loyal Petitions from the Colonies Alone, for Redress of those Grievances, have been rejected with Contempt, so that no Relief can be expected from that Method of Proceedings; and, being fully convinced of the absolute Necessity, of stimulating our Fellow-Subjects and Sufferers in Great-Britain to aid us, in this our Distress, and of joining the Rest of the Colonies, in some other loyal and vigorous Methods, that may most probably procure such Relief, which we believe may be most effectually promoted by strict Oeconomy, and by encouraging the Manufactures of America in general, and of this Province in particular: We therefore, whose names are underwritten, do solemnly promise, and agree to and with each other, That, until the Colonies be restored to their former Freedom, by the Repeal of the said Acts, we will most strictly abide by the following

RESOLUTIONS

I. That we will encourage and promote the Use of North-American Manufactures in general, and those of this Province in particular. And any of us, who are Venders thereof, do engage to sell and dispose of them, at the same Rates as heretofore.

II. That we will upon no Pretence whatsoever, either upon our own Account or on Commission, import into this Province any of the Manufactures of Great-Britain, or any other European or East-India Goods, either from Great Britain, Holland, or any other Place, other than such as may have been Shipped in Consequence of former Orders; excepting only Negro Cloth, commonly called white and coloured Plains, not exceeding one Shilling and Six Pence Sterling per Yard, Canvas, Bolting Cloths, Drugs and Family Medicines, Plantation and Workmens Tools, Nails, Fire Arms, Bar Steel, Gun Powder, Shot, Lead, Flints, Wire Cards and Card wire, Mill and Grind Stones, Fish hooks, printed Books and Pamphlets, Salt, Coals, and Salt-Petre. And exclusive of these articles, we do solemnly promise and declare, that we will immediately counter-

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mand all Orders to our Correspondents in Great-Britain, for shipping any Such Goods, Wares and Merchandize: And we will sell and dispose of the Goods we have on Hand, or that may arrive in Consequence of former Orders at the same rates as heretofore.

III. That we will use the utmost Oeconomy, in our Persons, Houses and Furniture; particularly, that we will give no mourning, or Gloves, or Scarves at Funerals,

IV. That, from and after the 1st. Day of January, 1770, we will not import, buy, or sell, any Negroes that shall be brought into this Province from Africa; nor, after the 1st. Day of October next, any Negroes that shall be imported from the West-Indies, or any other Place excepting from Africa as aforesaid: And that, if any Goods or Negroes shall be sent to us, contrary to our Agreement in this Subscription such Goods shall be re-shipped or stored, and such Negroes re-shipped from this Province, and not by any Means offered for Sale therein.

V. That we will not purchase from, or sell for, any Masters of Vessels, transient Persons, or Non-Subscribers, any Kind of European or East-India Goods whatever, excepting Coals and Salt, after the 1st Day of November next:

VI. That as Wines are subject to a heavy Duty, we agree, not to import any on our Account or Commission, or purchase from any Master of Vessel, transient Person, or Non-Subscriber, after the 1st. Day of January next.

VII. Lastly, That we will not purchase any Negroes imported, or any Goods or Merchandize whatever, from any Resident in this Province, that refuses or neglects to sign this Agreement, within one Month from the Date hereof; excepting it shall appear he has been unavoidably prevented from doing the same. And every Subscriber who shall not, strictly and literally adhere to this Agreement, according to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, ought to be treated with the utmost Contempt.

Georgia and North Carolina entered the list last of all in the order named, and while the agreement of the latter followed in the main those of Virginia and Maryland, the agreement of the former was in principle similar to those of South Carolina and the northern cities. Such alignment was the natural outcome of the economic relations of the colonies to each other, for North Carolina, except in the Cape Fear section, had generally identified herself with the tobacco colonies to the northward, while South Carolina and Georgia had many interlocking interests. The news of the non-importation movement

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reached Savannah as early as October, 1767,[1] but it was not until September 12, 1769, that a body of merchants, planters, and tradesmen, possibly aroused by protests from Charles Town, met at the house of Mr. Peat and chose a committee to draft resolutions. This committee reported on the 19th a form of agreement similar to the one later ratified, in which they promised not to import any English, European, or East Indian goods, except a certain number carefully enumerated, including goods for the Indian trade.[2] On the 16th the merchants had met separately at the house of Alexander Creighton, and had drawn up a statement of grievances, followed by a resolve that any person importing articles subject to parliamentary taxation should be deemed an enemy to his country.[3] Shortly afterwards, at a public meeting held in Savannah, with Jonathan Bryan in the chair, a final agreement was entered into, which was modelled after that of South Carolina, but was differently worded in the preamble

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[1] Georgia Gazette, October 26, 1769.

[2] Georgia Gazette, September 13, 20, 1769.

[3] "It was agreed, That the late acts so fully and unanimously remonstrated against by the Northern Colonies were in themselves unconstitutional and the mode of taxation was entirely inconsistent with the abilities of the people.

"At a time when we believe that healing measures and a redress of grievances will be effectually pursued at the next meeting of Parliament, we think it unnecessary to enumerate the whole, further than that, in general, and as far as we know, we approve of and agree in sentiment with the other provinces.

"It was agreed respecting this province in particular that the mode of payment of such duties is a great additional grievance. The sterling current money of this province, which was by Act of Assembly assented to by his Majesty and declared equal in value to the sterling money of Great Britain and a lawful tender in all payments, being refused in payment of such duties, tends greatly to depreciate its value; a circumstance greatly affecting every person anywise interested in this province; after having WISELY excluded us [from] the Spanish trade, the only channel through which specie could possibly be procured, and then, by subsequent acts imposing duties on us payable in *gold and silver*, shews that they are entirely ignorant of our internal police, and know little of what is beneficial to the colonies, and thereby prevents our having it even in our power to give a regular and constitutional aid to the mother country, if such was demanded.

"WE THEREFORE RESOLVE, That any person or persons whatever, importing any of the articles subject to such duties, after having it in their power to prevent it, ought not only to be treated with the utmost contempt, but deemed enemies to their country, it being a circumstance that would need only to be mentioned to any person, inspired with the least sense of liberty that it may be detested and abhorred" (Georgia Gazette, September 20, 1769; Tobler, South Carolina and Georgia Almanack, for 1770).

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and in general much more concisely expressed.[1] The Georgia agreement, like that of South Carolina, represented the combined action of the merchants, planters, and people at large.

In North Carolina the situation was very much like that of Virginia. The assembly was dissolved by Governor Tryon on November 6, 1769. Immediately sixty-four of the seventy-seven members met in the court-house at New Bern, organized themselves as a convention, and appointed a committee to draw up a set of resolutions. The committee's report was presented on the 7th and formally adopted. The agreement followed that of Virginia, laying less stress on the constitutional claim than did that of Maryland, binding the subscribers not to import slaves, leaving the door open for the importation of Indian goods, as did all the southern colonies, and copying in all but a few particulars the very language of its exemplar.[2] With the accession of North Carolina to the ranks of the non-importers, the chain of the colonies was complete. By November, 1769, every one of the original thirteen colonies except New Hampshire, and all of the more important cities except Portsmouth, had either joined the movement or expressed its sympathy with it. Quebec, Montreal, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas did not raise the issue at all.

VI

When the agreement had once been signed, the procedure followed was everywhere pretty much the same. The first object was to obtain subscribers, for which purpose blanks were distributed widely and considerable pressure of a legitimate character was brought to bear on those who hesitated or refused. While many signed the papers with enthusiasm, others yielded from a sense of duty or for fear of the consequences. Merchants, tradesmen, retailers, wharfingers, and the like, who held out against all persuasion, were deemed enemies to their country, and were avoided

[1] Revolutionary Records of Georgia, i. 8–11. The list of exemptions was somewhat different, including in addition osnaburgs, certain varieties of flannels, linen, hose, cottons, checks, felt hats, shoes, hardware of all sorts (probably the same as "plantation and workman's tools, nails, and fishhooks" which are in the South Carolina list and omitted from that of Georgia), paper, and Indian goods. The list omits also salt and bar-steel.

[2] South Carolina Gazette, December 8, 1769; Connor, North Carolina Booklet, viii. 21–26; Connor, Cornelius Harnett, pp. 53–57.

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socially, excommunicated politically, and boycotted in business. In the same class with non-subscribers were "informers," "violators" of the agreements, and "revolters" who had broken through, as in New York. If they refused to yield or became aggressive in their resistance, they were liable to coercion and maltreatment, their shops and wharves to damage, and themselves to indignity and suffering. Some were tarred and feathered, carted through the streets, or driven out of town, as in Boston, Salem, and New Haven; some were hung in effigy, as in Boston, New York, and Charles Town; some were stood under the gallows, and others were ducked in the nearest pond.[1] Those who dealt with non-subscribers or "violators" were always under suspicion and sometimes had to clear themselves by advertisement, lest their business be ruined.[2] The number of those treated in this manner is not large, many who were threatened made voluntary submission, others acquitted themselves before the committees of charges presented by over-zealous persons without sufficient knowledge, while in at least one case where the mob burned goods in storage, the indignant sufferer brought suit against the committee and was awarded damages.[3]

In the South, where the associations were the work of the planters

[1] For the case of Adonijah Thomas of West Haven, see the New London Gazette, September 20, 1769; for cases in Boston, Rowe, Diary, October 28, 1769, May 18, 1770, March 9, 1775. Tar and feathers were kept on hand in New Jersey (New Jersey Archives, xxvii. 217; see also the Holyoke Diaries, p. 69). Two New York "revolters," who went to New Brunswick, N. J., were stopped and "genteely ducked" at Woodbridge (New York Journal, August 9, 1770; New Jersey Archives, xxvii. 218, 220).

[2] "Resolved, That every subscriber who shall presume directly or indirectly to *purchase from* or *sell for* any violator of the general resolutions, shall be looked upon in the same odious light as a violator himself, shunned as a pestilence and held in the utmost abhorrence and contempt" (South Carolina Gazette, June 28, 1770). For illustration, see Letters of James Murray, Loyalist, p. 179.

The following is a good specimen of the language used in denbuncing violators: "Gibetted (in Fame) to rot and stink under the noses of their countrymen, as a mark of public infamy and warning to those who shall endeavour to counteract the designs of society in favour of Liberty. If oppression, according to Solomon, maketh a wise man mad, what a pity 'tis that it cannot teach fools wisdom."

[3] The case of David Hill of Massachusetts, whose barrels of goods were seised by a mob in New York and burnt. This action called out a protest and denunciation from the committee of inspection (New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 9, 1770). Hill brought suit against the committee of merchants, Isaac Low and others, and was awarded £280 damages in March, 1772.

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and radicals as well as of the merchants, there were large numbers who refused to conform. Probably a majority of the merchants of Norfolk was in opposition to the Virginia association, and in Wilmington and Charles Town, where the movement was dominated by the Sons of Liberty from the beginning, the merchants though acquiescing showed no great enthusiasm.[1] There was less hounding of non-subscribers in the South than in the North, but the same efforts were made in both sections to break down opposition.

In order to prevent the importation of British and other goods contrary to the agreements, subscribers in the North and associators in the South appointed committees of inspection, whose business it was to watch for violations, to examine manifests and cargoes, and to bring doubtful cases before the general body for consideration and settlement. In nearly every city and colony, goods were seized and stored under the direction of such committees, generally in private warehouses, the keys of which were given up, or else such goods were sent back to England or to the colony from whence they came. It was the early practice, particularly in the North, to store the goods, but later, in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and to a considerable extent in Boston and Philadelphia, they were returned. In some cases ships were not allowed to come to dock, if they were suspected of having forbidden goods on board, and it was deemed important and necessary that the owners of wharves and their wharfingers should be favorable to the cause. In some cases vessels went on from port to port vainly seeking an entry. The Sharpe went to New York, then to Philadelphia, then to Norfolk, but was sent away from each place; the Tristram, sent away from Providence, went to Wethersfield, where the importer was compelled to store the goods.[2] In several cases, the importers broke into the warehouses and carried off their own goods,[3] and in one instance at

[1] This is the impression one gets from a study of the Laurens Papers and from the report of the Wilmington meeting of the Sons of Liberty, July 5, 1770, when many of the merchants refused to sign the agreement (Cape Fear Mercury, July 11, 1770). A Charles Town merchant writing to his correspondent in England said that those who got up the agreement there were men without credit in England.

[2] Stiles, Wethersfield, i. 418–419.

[3] The cases of Gov. Hutchinson's sons in Boston (Massachusetts Papers, pp. 131–132) and Peter Frye and others in Salem (Essex Gazette, October 2, 1770).

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least a mob defied the committee, broke open the warehouse, and burnt the goods.[1] There was much running of forbidden commodities by night, and the charge was freely made that the warehouses had two doors, one in front and one behind, and where one case of the kind is recorded, there must have been many of which the committees had no knowledge.[2]

We are now ready to return to the situation in Boston. On August 1, 1768, the agreement had been signed, committing the merchants to the policy of non-importation, which marked the first line of cleavage in the old Society, between subscribers and non-subscribers. The rift thus made widened when in November rumors got abroad that the merchants in Salem, Marblehead, and Cape Ann were breaking their agreements, and the Standing Committee on January 19, 1769, wrote to Peter Frye, chairman of the merchants' committee in Salem, asking for information.[3] Though the rumor was denied,

[1] Above, p. 222 note 3.

[2] A writer to the New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, August 27, 1770, said that in Newport and Boston every store had two doors, which made it easy to keep the agreement. He said also that the stores were often open and that many thousands of dollars were taken from Connecticut and adjacent counties in the night time. Newport denied vehemently that there were "back doors to the public stores."

Illustrations could be given of goods stored or returned in every colony. The most active towns were Charles Town, Annapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. In Charles Town there was a committee of inspection that covered the coast from Georgetown (Winyah) to Beaufort, and in Maryland and Virginia there were committees of inspection for each county. Some of the best known cases are: Boston, Capt. Scott, Capt. Bryant (the Wolf); Providence, Capt. Shand (the Tristram); New York, Capt. Speir (the Sharpe), Capt. Munds (the Brittania); Middletown, Conn., Capt. Butler; Philadelphia, Capt. Strickland (the Speedwell); Baltimore, Capt. Johnson (the Lord Cambden); Annapolis, Capt. Bryson (the Betsey), Capt. Carter (the Flora), Capt. Errington (the Good Intent). From Georgetown various colonial vessels were sent back, and from Charles Town, vessels from Boston, New York, and Jamaica, and those importing goods for Saxby, Gillon, Benjamin and Ann Matthews, Stukes, and Tidyman. There is much in the Collins Papers about the ship Commerce from Hull to New York and Philadelphia. Many cases are recorded in which the names are not given, as when Maryland compelled an owner to reship twenty pipes of wine, and Philadelphia prevented a cargo from being landed, which was to have been got ashore in small parcels and in different parts. Ample evidence exists for a study of these and other cases, but they cannot be considered further here.

[3] To Peter Frye and other Gentlemen of the Committee of Merchants, Salem, Jan. 19, 1769: "Being informed by letters from Salem that some persons there who signed the agreement for the non-importation of goods have, contrary to

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the committee continued its inquiries, and on April 21st was able to report to the Body that only nine out of two hundred and eleven had imported. The Body then appointed a special inspection committee of seven to examine the manifests of the cargoes and to make further report. This the committee did at an adjourned meeting on the 27th, stating that but seven subscribers had imported, with eight non-subscribers and five sea captains,[1] and that the number, though larger than could be wished, was inconsiderable and the quantity and value of the goods were very small. It warned the public that "the purchasing of any kind of English goods brought from other colonies since January, 1769," was contrary to the agreement. In consequence of this warning a number of the subscribers turned over for storage goods that had evidently been imported under a misunderstanding.[2]

But the non-subscribers refused to yield, and a determined campaign was begun against them. In May, with the design of casting public odium upon them, a printed paper was handed about, containing the names of eleven merchants who refused to conform, and recommending that all citizens should avoid them. Alarmed at reports of the influence which Hillsborough's letter of May 13th, promising the repeal of the acts in part, was having on the moderates in the town, the Standing Committee met at the Coffee House on June 24th and prepared a new agreement according to which the

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said agreement, sent their Spring orders and others are preparing to do the same, alledging that Marblehead and Cape Ann havent come into the agreement, and that in case other towns did not and any in Salem should not conform to it others were not held," the committee said that this conduct had caused great uneasiness, and they wished to inform Salem that Marblehead and Cape Ann had come in, New York was holding fast, Boston was more determined than ever, and their best friends in England approved (Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 63).

[1] The sea captains and masters made considerable trouble. In South Carolina it was found that "the Resolutions had been in some measure defeated by masters of vessels and other transient persons being at liberty to dispose of goods they imported if they could find purchasers, several persons having availed themselves of this opening and clandestinely disposed of and purchased, and others refused to store or reship goods thus imported.". On this account the Body of Merchants entered into a new agreement designed to put a stop to this evil. This agreement was repeated in March, 1770 (South Carolina Gazette, February 1, March 8, 1770).

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, nos. 40, 43, 63.

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arrangement of August 1st was to remain in force unless all the revenue acts, those of 1764 and 1766 as well as the Townshend Act, should be repealed. Two days later, the Body met and, renewing the agreement of August 1st, voted unanimously that the removal of the duties on glass, paper, and painters' colors was not enough, but that all the acts must be repealed. The Body appointed three committees, one to increase subscriptions, one to inspect cargoes, and one to prepare a state of trade grievances.[1] This action of the merchants was merely a renewal of the old agreement, but it probably had the effect of creating further dissensions among themselves. Evidently these differences found expression, particularly on the part of non-subscribers, for on August 11th the Body met and voted that the scheme was likely to be efficacious only if adhered to. They denounced as "enemies to trade, their neighbors, and their country" all who continued to import, and declared that if such persons would not submit, their names would be published in the newspapers.

In consequence of this threat, six of the fourteen non-subscribing firms yielded, but eight refused, and their names were printed in four Boston papers and the Essex Gazette. They were Richard Clark & Son, John Bernard, Nathaniel Rogers, Theophilus Lillie, James McMasters & Co., John Mein, Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., and Elisha Hutchinson.[2] Of the eight thus publicly denounced, all but three came in later, leaving John Bernard, James McMasters & Co., and John Mein defiant and refusing even to attend the merchants' meeting. Two more names were added at a meeting of the merchants in November, Henry Barnes of Marlborough,[3] and Ame and Elizabeth Cuming of Boston, and in December four merchants of Marblehead, who refused to enter the agreement there and continued to import and offer for sale, were published in the Boston papers.[4]

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[1] Rowe, Diary, July 24, 1769; Boston Chronicle, July 27, 1769; Boston Gazette, July 31, 1769.

[2] Boston Gazette, August 14, 1769. The Boston town meeting aided the merchants by entering these names on the records of its session of October 4 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 298).

[3] For the sufferings of Henry Barnes, see the letter from Mrs. Barnes, June, 1770, printed in Letters of James Murray, Loyalist, pp. 175–177.

[4] Boston Gazette, November 20, December 25, 1769. Colburn Barrell, who

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This publishing of names in the public press gave rise to perhaps the most interesting and instructive incident of the whole non-importation movement, when one man, employing the press as his weapon and fortifying himself with facts and figures, defied the entire body of subscribers in Boston. John Mein, a Scotsman, had come to New England in October, 1764, and in 1765 opened a book store and circulating library in King Street, just above the British Coffee House on the north side.[1] In 1767, he started the Boston Chronicle, one of the best planned and best written of the Boston newspapers, and a year later was chosen stationer to the American Board of Customs Commissioners.[2] He had refused to join in the

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had subscribed, said afterwards that he was bullied into the agreement "by the threatening and cajoling conduct of some of their committee men." He did not wish to have trouble with the merchants, desiring to live quietly and at peace with his fellow townsmen. He was willing to reship, if the merchants would meet all charges for insurance and freight and would recompense him for damage incurred in returning the goods (compare the same proposition made by James Dick in the Good Intent case, Maryland Magazine, iii. 356). The committee replied, but Barrell said that the reply was insufficient and he proceeded to make remarks at some length, calling his submission unlawful and the meeting that asked for it unlawful. In consequence, he considered himself freed from his engagement. At a meeting of the merchants, held on December 7, this letter was commented upon severely. Barrell replied that there were many non-subscribing merchants in Boston and those who yielded to threats were cowards. Barrell showed a good deal of courage. He had been a merchant of Newmarket, N. H., and a member of the Sandemanian church of Portsmouth (Sandeman-Barrell Papers), and was a brother of William, Joseph, and Walter Barrell. He had a shop just north of the Mill-bridge (Boston Chronicle, October 9, December 7, 1769).

The New Yorkers about this time advertised one Simeon Cooley, a jeweller, who having joined the merchants later defied them, and broke the agreement. The subscribers called on the people to boycott him as "the most insolent, impertinent, and daring of any former aggressor." Cooley eventually submitted (New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 24, 1769). Similarly Thomas Richardson, jeweller, was compelled to retract (New York Journal, September 21, 1769). Jewellers seem to have been particularly obstinate. Philip Tidyman of Charles Town was a jeweller (South Carolina Gazette, November 1, 1770).

[1] See Mr. Bolton's article in Publications of this Society, xi. 196–200, and notes on p. 200, also p. 6 note 4. The facts of Mein's career are well known and need not be rehearsed here, but extracts will be given from his memorial to the Treasury, which has never been used.

[2] Mein said that before 1769 he "carried on in his various occupations of bookseller, stationer, and printer, the most extensive trade of any person on the American Continent" and "possessed the confidence of the Principal People." His paper had a subscription list of fourteen hundred and his bookstore netted

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non-importation movement at the time of the Stamp Act, and again refused in 1768, though urgently requested to do so.[1] In consequence of this refusal, he was persecuted by the merchants, who exerted all their influence to ruin him. "They applied to his customers to desert him, they sent to the selectmen of every town in the province to promote subscriptions not to deal with him, and they held him up in anonymous handbills and in anonymous advertisements in the newspapers as an enemy to America." In retaliation he "adopted the plan of exposing them, to accomplish which he printed in his newspaper the manifests of all the cargoes of the vessels that had arrived in the port of Boston from Great Britain since the commencement of the non-importation agreement," and these, to the number of 4000 sheets of the principal importations, he circulated over all America, from Florida to Nova Scotia. In addition he printed 500 copies of the whole in a quarto pamphlet, one half of which he succeeded in distributing.[2] The result was that

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him £40, £60, and £80 a week, while his stock in trade amounted to six or seven thousand pounds sterling (Public Record Office, Treasury 1: 478, f. 478).

[1] "The speaker of the House of Representatives, and many others, the Heads of the Faction, harrassed him daily for months, first with entreaties, urging as strong motive the great encouragement he had received among them, and afterwards employed threats, in order to induce him to accede to their combination. He was even told that the Crisis was now arrived, in which Neutrality was criminal, but he remained uniform in his refusal, a Sense of Duty being more prevalent with him than either the continuance or the increased favour of the public, which he was led to expect, or their highest displeasure, with which he was threatened" (ibid.).

[2] Mein was aroused by the report of the committee stating that but few importations had taken place, and by the decision of the Body to print the names of delinquents. In his own paper (August 17, 1769) he left blank the space where the names should have been. He began to print the manifests of importations, since January 1, 1769, on August 21 and continued them on the 24, 28, 31, September 4, 7, 11, 14, 18, etc., to October 19, with a running commentary. On December 11, 14, 18, he added the manifest of the ship John, owned by John Hancock, and manifests of other vessels owned by Boston merchants, and he continued publishing the manifests in January and February, 1770, issuing fifty-five in all. Furthermore he gave a list of forty non-signers, who made heavy importations during the year. As stated above, he issued these manifests in a pamphlet entitled "A State of the Importations from Great Britain into the Port of Boston from the Beginning of January, 1769, to August 17, 1769," with an Appendix of importations to January 1, 1770. The other side of the controversy can be followed in the Boston Gazette and in Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 65. On September 10, the merchants took his case into consideration and

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a mass of incriminating evidence against the Boston merchants was spread broadcast throughout the country, raising, as Mein himself said, "distrust and dissenssion not only in the very heart of the Boston Faction, but between that Faction and the other combining colonies." Naturally Mein became obnoxious to the Bostonians, his subscribers fell off more than half, his bookselling business was ruined, the signs at his bookstore and printing office were besmeared with dirt, and he himself was treated as an informer and his effigy taken out with that of the Devil on November 5th or Pope

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voted that he had endeavored to frustrate the good intentions of the signers of the agreement, by maliciously insinuating to the public that the agreement had not been generally complied with and that the committee's report was false and intended to deceive the public, and further that he had treated "the inspectors, the committee, and the whole body of merchants and traders in the most haughty, imperious, and insulting manner."

The influence of the facts Mein presented can hardly be overestimated, while in temper and good manners he distinctly had the best of his opponents. There is certainly nothing "scurrilous," "scandalous," "impudent," or "contemptible" in what Mein wrote in his paper, and the language used by the patriotic party and their laudation of themselves and their motives and characters arouse the suspicion that Mein's disclosures struck a tender spot. The weakness of the defence lies in its scurrility, its anonymity, its refusal to give names, and its concealment of the places where the goods were stored. It is curious how unwilling the upholders of non-importation were to sign their names to their articles. Conceding that anonymity was a fashion of the time, we must feel that the refusal to acknowledge authorship was a confession of weakness or worse. Hutchinson once said that such articles were the production of people "who if they would sign their names need do nothing more to blast the credit of everything they say" (Hutchinson to Williams, September 18, 1769, Williams Papers).

If Mein's facts are correct, then the merchants of Boston and Salem, and notably John Hancock, were doing a fairly prosperous freighting business in goods made contraband by the merchants. The explanations given by the latter are not convincing, and that they were not convincing to the merchants of New York and Philadelphia, the sequel was to prove. The latter frequently quoted Mein's sheets and pamphlet. In the face of the facts given, it is hardly a sufficient defence of Hancock to say that his "name will shine in the records of fame when infamous Jacobites and Tories will sink in oblivion," however true that statement may be as a prophecy (Boston Gazette, October 9, 1769). Mein was the first active opponent of the non-importation movement in America, and the information that he furnished did much to bring about its failure, for, as he says himself, "The Rupture between the Boston Faction and the combining colonies of N. York and Philadelphia will be evinced from their own advertisements; for the accusations brought by the latter against the former could be drawn from no other source than the publications of your Memorialist" (Public Record Office, Treasury 1: 478, f. 480).

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Day.[1] Attacked by the mob, Mein in defence wounded a grenadier, and as warrants were issued against him he escaped to England. With his later career we are not concerned. Though deeply involved in financial difficulties, he returned to Boston, engaged again in business, and was twice posted for persisting in his refusal to join the movement. He left New England permanently some time after 1771.[2]

In the meantime information was received by the merchants that Philadelphia and New York were sending orders to England for goods to be shipped in case the acts should be repealed. As the

[1] The acrostic containing the line

M ean is the man, M–N is his name

is printed in our Publications, xi. 198; and the "Description of the Pope, 1769," of which the acrostic forms a part, was printed in full in the Boston Chronicle, November 9, 1769, and also in a broadside. The following additional lines may be quoted:

Here stands the Devil for a Show,
With the I–p–rs in a row,
All bound to Hell, and that we know.
Go M–n lade deep with curses on thy head,
To some dark Corner of the World repair,
Where the bright Sun no pleasant Beams can shed,
And spend thy Life in Horror and Despair.

At the head of the broadside is a rough woodcut, in which Mein's effigy, substituted for that of the Pope, appears standing under a gallows on a four-wheeled wagon, with the Devil behind, and before and after various smaller devils and tomcods. These are defined as "M–n, his Servant, &c. A Bunch of Tom-Cods." The following also is printed on the sheet:

"See the Informer, how he stands. If any one now takes his Part, An Enemy to all the Land, He'll go to Hell without a cart."

[2] Rowe, Diary, October 28, 1769; our Publications, xi. 198–200, where Mr. Bolton gives information regarding Mein's financial troubles, drawn from letters in private hands. His account should be studied in connection with Mein's remarks in his Memorial about justice in Massachusetts. There is a paper in the Dartmouth collection at Patshull House, containing information which Mein furnished John Pownall, under secretary of state for the colonies, but I have been unable to get a copy of it, because Patshull House is at present a military hospital. For the attack on Mein, see Hutchinson to Secretary Hillsborough, November 11, 1769, Colonial Office, 5:758, p. 445; Andrew Oliver to Sir Francis Bernard, same date, British Museum, Egerton, 2670, f. 28; and the London Chronicle, December 19, 1769. In the Letters of James Murray, Loyalist, pp. 168–174, are many references to Mein, whom Murray assisted. John Rowe notes the presence of "Mr. Murray of Cape Fear" at the Merchants' Club, May 27, 1765, and we may not doubt that he was in attendance at other times also.

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Boston agreement was to expire at the end of the year, it was necessary to take action for the future, so on October 17th the merchants and traders met and considered what should be done. Feeling that the attitude of Philadelphia and New York did not sufficiently meet their own trade grievances, they voted that orders sent to Great Britain should be conditional, depending not on the repeal of the Townshend Act only but on the repeal of all the acts imposing duties for raising a revenue in America, and they hoped that the merchants elsewhere would come into a similar arrangement. When, however, it was found that the merchants of New York and Philadelphia had already ordered their goods to be shipped, in case the Townshend Act was repealed, and for this and other reasons refused to concur in the agreement of October 17th, proposing only to join in a plan for obtaining the repeal of the Acts of 1764 and 1766, the merchants of Boston, wishing to act in unison with the others, agreed to adopt the Philadelphia and New York plan.[1]

On November 7th, the Body voted that merchants might write to their correspondents instructing them to ship in case the Townshend Act was repealed.[2] As this vote was certain to antagonize those who had already laid plans for resuming importation after January 1, 1770, and would resent the extension of time which closed the door indefinitely, the meeting voted to publish the names of any shipping goods contrary to the agreement and to hold them up as persons "counteracting the salutary measures the merchants are pursuing to obtain a redress of grievances." Notwithstanding this vote, which was repeated on December 6th, the number of importers

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[1] Massachusetts Papers, pp. 128–130; Boston Gazette, November 20, 1769; Letters of Dennys De Berdt, our Publications, xiii. 398–399. De Berdt wrote to Thomas McKean, February 15, 1770: "The condisinal orders (if these acts are repel'd) arose from the Quakers in Phil[a], who grew impatient of the restraints on tread, and came into this new agreement which they communicated to Boston & Boston has done the same."

[2] Boston Gazette, November 20, 1769; Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides, December 6, 1769. A considerable enlargement was made in the list of exempted articles. The additional articles in the new list are here italicized:

Coals, salt, fishhooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar-lead, shot, wool-cards and card wire, *clothier's shears*, *tin plates*, *drugs* and *medicines*, *dyestuffs*, *alum* and *copperas*, *gunpowder*, *grindstones*, *chalk*, *sheet-copper*, *German steel*, *schoolbooks*, as also "the article of *Bayze* for the supply of the fishing." The influence of the lists adopted by other colonies is clearly seen.

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increased and became bolder. Rumors were prevalent that goods were illegally brought in and not stored as the agreement demanded. Complaints came from various quarters, and Newport and Providence, influenced by Mein's disclosures, charged Boston with violating the agreements.[1] The subscribers declared that all these accusations were but part of a "Tory scheme" to interrupt and destroy that "union and harmony" which alone could deliver America from her burdens.

Continued infractions[2] so alarmed the Trade that on January 16, 1770, a call was issued for a meeting of the Whole Body on the 17th, —

to receive the report of the committee of inspection relative to the most unaccountable and extraordinary conduct of three or four persons, some of whom have sold, others removed, and others threaten to sell their goods that have been stored, in direct violation of their solemn engagements to the contrary; and to consider and determine on some legal and spirited measures to prevent the non-importation agreement being rendered abortive by the machinations of those few persons, who by behaving in this perfidious manner will most audaciously counteract the whole Continent in the measures now pursuing for the preservation of their liberties.[3]

In consequence of this call, the merchants met at Faneuil Hall on January 17th, 18th, and 23d, and decided to break down all opposition by force, if necessary. On the 17th the Whole Body visited the house and store of William Jackson, on the 18th those of the Hutchinsons, Theophilus Lillie, John Taylor, Nathaniel Rogers, and Jackson again. On the 23d, the Hutchinsons having agreed to hand over their goods, they declared the remaining four, together with John Bernard, James and Patrick McMasters, Ame and Elizabeth Cuming, "obstinate and inveterate enemies to their country and subverters of the Rights and Liberties of this Continent," and

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[1] Joseph Rotch & Son to Aaron Lopez, November 29, 1769: "We are now well assured that all the Agreements in the world will not prevent the Boston purchasers from exceeding the limits agreed on," and they want to know whether the "manufacturers of Newport intend altering their agreement or not" (Commerce of Rhode Island, i. 288. See also Boston Gazette, December 11, 1769).

[2] The Hutchinson and Sheafe affairs especially, for which see Massachusetts Papers, pp. 131–132, and Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 775.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517; Broadsides, January 16, 1770.

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they voted to boycott them and outlaw them from the country.[1] This action of the merchants, or, as we are justified in saying, of the radicals among them, seemed so akin to disorderly conduct and a disturbance of the peace that Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson sent the sheriff to bid them disperse, but without effect.[2] The period was one of tremendous excitement in Boston,[3] the Boston Massacre

[1] Rowe, Diary under dates; Broadside, January 23, 1770. The broadside further says: "The friends of liberty and their country's cause are desired to paste this up over the Chimney Piece of every Public House and on every other proper place, in every Town in this and every other Colony, there to remain as a Monument of the Remembrance of the Detestable Names above mentioned." Another vote at the meeting was to this effect, "That the committee of inspection be directed to use their endeavours to discover the owner or owners of such goods upon their arrival, and being thus discovered, we will not sell or buy of, or have any dealings or social intercourse whatever with such persons for the space of two years, from the time of the arrival of such goods, and that the committee of inspection are desired to publish this vote, together with the names of the owners of such goods for the space of two years from the time of their arrival."

An example of such publication, relating to William Jackson, was given in our Publications, viii. 99 note.

Nathaniel Rogers in May, 1770, left Boston and went to New York, where the Sons of Liberty carried his effigy through the streets. Leaving New York, he went to Shelter Island, and there, word from New York having been received in advance, his effigy was placed on a pole, with the label "Nat. Rogers one of the infamous importers," and after being paraded through the town was hung by the neck before the door of the house where he was staying. The next day he embarked for Rhode Island, eventually returning to Boston, where he was again posted, and finally in June applied for readmission. He died suddenly in August of the same year.

James and Patrick McMasters were particularly offensive to the merchants. In 1770 Patrick was carted through the streets of Boston for persisting in his refusal to join the merchants, and this punishment was so roughly administered that, we are told, a woman viewing it died of fright (Essex Gazette, February 5, 1771). "I received a letter from Miss Cummings," wrote Mrs. Barnes, "which was far from being a cordial to my drooping spirits. She writes me word that one of the McMasters had been carted out of town at noonday in a most ignominious manner, and that the other two brothers had fled for their lives" (Letters of James Murray, Loyalist, pp. 177–178). The McMasters and others, finding public opinion against them in Boston, fled to Portsmouth, an event which roused a good deal of excitement there, and may have had something to do with Portsmouth's continued unwillingness to adopt non-importation.

[2] Committee to De Berdt, January 30, 1770, giving their version of the matter (Massachusetts Papers, pp. 132–135).

[3] "The True Sons of Liberty and supporters of non-importation are determined to resent any the least insult or menace offer'd to any one or more of the several committees appointed by the Body at Faneuil Hall, and chastise any one or more of them as they truly deserve; and will also support the printers in anything the

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took place on Mareh 5th, and the town was in an uproar and confusion. The Trade had to publish its determination to protect its own members and its printers from insult, and despite the colony act "establishing a watch for the safety and better securing the good order of the town of Boston," the police conditions were so lax that the populace did about as it pleased, defying court orders, destroying the houses of unpopular citizens and magistrates, tarring and feathering with impunity, gathering in crowds, pelting, jeering, and maltreating without interference. The situation reflects no credit upon the authorities of the town, whose citizens were zealous to do their duty only when fires were to be extinguished and patriotic enterprises executed.[1]

The non-importation movement was beginning to pass out of the hands of the merchants and into the control of those to whom trade was a secondary consideration. The Boston town meeting took up the question of how to strengthen the movement and appointed a committee for that purpose.[2] Again it entered on its records the names of those who continued to import, that posterity might know "who those persons were that preferred their little private advantage to the common interest of all the colonies," and again it offered, in burning and eloquent phrases, the thanks of the town to

committees shall desire them to print. ☞ As a warning to any one that shall affront as aforesaid, upon some information given, one of these Advertisements will be posted up at the Door or Dwelling House of the offender" (January, 1770, Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides).

[1] Remarks by Mr. Pierce in his introduction to John Rowe's Diary (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 57–58). The act mentioned empowered the selectmen of Boston to appoint thirty watchmen from among the inhabitants of the town, one of whom in each division was to be head or constable, and to keep an account of what was going on and to report to the selectmen once a week. The watchmen were to walk the rounds to prevent danger from fires and see that good order was kept. Any one resisting a watchman was to be fined not more than £5 or less than 40 shillings. The watchmen were authorized to call on any citizen for assistance, who in case of refusal was liable to a 40 shilling fine. The act was to be in force until 1770.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 12–13, 16, 20. The meeting expressed the hope "that the Patriotick Spirit so widely diffused, and so nobly ardent, uniting all parts of the Province and disposing them with Alacrity to aid one another upon all Occasions in the common cause, a Spirit not confined to [this colony] but extending to all the Colonies, will ensure by the blessing of Heaven the Prosperity of the whole, and soon produce a thorough, effectual, and permanent relief from our great and common Grievances" (March 16, 1770).

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all who stood by the cause. John Rowe frankly expressed his dislike of the proceedings of the Body, thinking them "too severe," [1] and others were doubtless thinking the same. The partial repeal of the Townshend Act in April raised a new issue and the question arose as to whether the agreement should not be modified so as to admit all British goods except tea. The news of the repeal was known in Boston on April 24th and on the 30th a meeting of the Body was held, at which the merchants resolved to stand by the agreement and not to "send for any goods from Great Britain until the act imposing the duty on tea" should be repealed or until "the Trade in order to harmonize with the other colonies" should agree to alter such agreement. It still further enlarged the list of exemptions, adding certain articles that "we cannot at present manufacture in the province in so great quantities as we have occasion for at present." [2] On May 1st, the Salem town meeting, promising to support the agreement of the merchants, took up the question of the importers, who were making trouble there as well as in Boston. The next day, it forced John Appleton, Peter Frye, Abigail Epes, and Elizabeth Higginson to sign an agreement, in accordance with which their imported goods were to be stored under the direction of the

[1] He says this of the proceedings at the meetings of April 20 and 26. I have not been able to find the votes in question, but the call for the meeting on April 20 is as follows:

"To receive the report of the committee of inspection relative to the most unaccountable and extraordinary conduct of several persons who have imported goods contrary to agreement, particularly a Quantity of TEA; and to consider and determine upon some legal and spirited measures to prevent the non-importation agreement being rendered abortive," etc. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadsides, April 20, 1770).

It will be noticed that the wording is the same as that of January 16th, except that the offence stated is different. Probably the meeting voted to deal more severely than ever with the offenders, who may be the same as those entered on the records of the town meeting of March 16th, and afterwards published by the merchants in the newspapers. See p. 244 note 1, below.

[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, O2517, no. 73. The following articles were exempted: paper, glass, painters' colors, tacks, brads, nails of all sorts under 10 pennies, all kinds of utensils for carrying on any manufactures, lead, copper, "allum," grindstones, salt, coals, tinplates, hooks, lines, and other necessaries for the fishery, baize, duffils, hemp, duck, "ozenbrigs," fruit, oil, and all other kind of goods of the product and manufacture of any foreign ports in Europe usually imported from Great Britain, except any articles of luxury. This is a very different list from that of August 1, 1768.

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committee of inspection.[1] Marblehead, Taunton, and other towns joined in this attempt to bolster up a failing cause.

VII

On May 26th, Newport broke the agreement into which she had entered on October 30, 1769. There had been from the beginning a great deal of intense feeling in the town on the subject of non-importation, and the disputes among the merchants had been long and heated.[2] So prolonged was the controversy that in October, 1769, the Boston merchants had said if Rhode Island did not come in they would treat her as the merchants of New York and Philadelphia had done and instruct their English correspondents to ship her no goods on penalty of losing the Boston trade.[3] Though both Providence and Newport agreed to non-importation in October of that year, the opinion prevailed generally that in the case of Newport the merchants were mainly Jews [4] and Tories with little enthusiasm for the cause. Rumors had come as early as May 9, 1770, that many of them were breaking the agreement and refusing to allow their goods to be stored, and very likely these rumors were true, for less than three weeks afterwards the break came. On the 26th the merchants voted to resume importation, and immediately sent letters notifying the others of the fact. Boston on the first rumor, having little confidence in Newport's sincerity, voted non-intercourse, and as the people of that town had not expressed a proper resentment at the action of the merchants, voted to break connection with them also.[5]

Philadelphia and New York followed suit. On May 23d the tradesmen and mechanics of the former city declared for non-intercourse, expressing "abhorrence" because of Newport's rumored

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[1] Essex Gazette, May 8, 1770. The agreement is given in full in the Boston Gazette, October 8, 1770.

[2] New London Gazette, June 1, 1770.

[3] Boston Gazette, October 9, 1769.

[4] On the Jews in Newport, see Kohler, "The Jews in Newport" (Publications American Jewish Historical Society, 1897, no. 6, p. 69; no. 10, p. 11), where the number is given. See also Stiles, Literary Diary, i. 11; Itineraries and Correspondence, pp. 52–53. There was a Jewish Social Club in Newport in 1761 (Publications American Jewish Historical Society, iv. 58–60).

[5] Boston Gazette, May 28, 1770.

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defection.[1] On May 30th, after the news had actually reached New York, a general meeting was held, not of the merchants, but of the Sons of Liberty, which denounced the Newporters as enemies of their country, voted to have nothing to do with them unless within a month they returned to their duty, and ordered all vessels from Rhode Island, lying in New York harbor, to depart within twenty-four hours. This action was, however, repudiated by the merchants, as the meeting had been called without the knowledge of the committee of inspection, which immediately resigned but was afterwards reëlected.[2] Connecticut, on June 1st, adopted resolutions similar to those of Boston.[3] Soon after, Hartford, New Haven, Marblehead, Elizabeth, New Brunswick, Baltimore, Annapolis, Wilmington, and Charles Town all declared in favor of non-intercourse with Newport and spoke with the utmost bitterness of that "dirty little colony of Rhode Island."[4] Newcastle, Wilmington

[1] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, May 28, 1770; Pennsylvania Chronicle, May 28, 1770; Pennsylvania Gazette, May 24, 1770; Boston Gazette, June 4, 1770. A Newport ship, Capt. Whitman, master, arrived in Philadelphia with a cargo, but was sent back.

[2] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 28, June 4, 1770.

[3] New London Gazette, June 15, 1770. The same paper contains an elaborate account of four Connecticut traders, two from Hartford and two from Windham, who started immediately for Newport to take advantage of the leak.

[4] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 11, August 13, 1770; Boston Gazette, June 25, 1770; Cape Fear Mercury, July 11, 1770; South Carolina Gazette, June 28, July 5, 1770. Ships were sent back from all these places.

The resolutions adopted at a meeting of the inhabitants of Charles Town "at Liberty Tree," June 22, 1770, though too long to be printed here, are worthy of reproduction in part. They describe the Rhode Islanders as "dead to every feeling but a criminal attachment to their private interest," "betrayers of American Liberty," and guilty of "heinous duplicity of conduct." They class together the people of Georgia and Rhode Island as "deluded people" deserving "to be *amputated* from the rest of their Bretheren, as a *rotten* Part that might spread a dangerous Infection" (South Carolina Gazette, June 28, 1770).

Stephen Collins wrote to N. & R. Denison, June 8, 1770: "The people of Rhode Island have broaken through their agreement which I think they must resume again very soon, as the whole Continent are rais'd in just indignation against them, their produce being but little, their merchants depend on foreign trade chiefly and their vessels are almost every day drove out of one port or another on the Continent and not suffer'd to trade but carry their cargo back, so that I think where they gain a penny in the trade of dry goods, they will stand a chance of loosing a pound for want of their trade with the other colonies" (Collins Papers).

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(Delaware), Chester, and other towns down the Delaware river took alarm and voted to have no dealings with the colony.[1]

This widespread vote of non-intercourse with Rhode Island showed either that to most colonial minds Newport was Rhode Island or else that the impression had got abroad that Providence also had departed from her agreement. This impression was partly true, for after the news of the partial repeal of the Townshend Act was known in America, some of the merchants of the city in May held a meeting and agreed to import all British goods except tea. Because of this, or because of a confounding of the two cities, several towns refused the vessels of Providence port entry and Windham published a spirited protest against her. This act angered the people of Providence, who considered themselves sufferers for the conduct of another town, and on May 31st they declared the decision of the merchants "too precipitate," renewed the old agreement, and passed a vote of censure against both Newport and Boston, resolving to purchase no goods from any one who imported into these towns contrary to the agreement. Newport replied, quoting the fable of the ass who kicked the lion, and citing instances where Providence herself had proved faithless. A writer in the Providence Gazette said:

> The merchants of Newport broke through the agreement and were highly censured by the northern part of the colony. The town of Providence, 'tis well known, passed a vote of censure against them, which they affected to ridicule in a very awkward manner. 'Tis with pleasure, I observe, that none of the colonies have passed any censure upon this town in particular. This was reserved for the little, dirty, insignificant town of Windham, the inhabitants of which, without the least show of reason, have dared publicly to stigmatize a people, than whom none have been more zealous in supporting the cause of American liberty.

At an adjourned town meeting on June 6th, the merchants acquiesced in a majority vote for the old agreement and the old list of exemptions, and peace was once more restored.[2]

[1] News from Philadelphia, June 14 (South Carolina Gazette, July 12, 1770).

[2] Providence Gazette, May 26, June 30, 1770; Newport Mercury, June 4, 1770; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 18, 1770; Staples, Annals of Providence, pp. 225–227. On September 5, 1770, Boston voted "That it appears to this Body that the town of Providence hath faithfully adhered to the non-importation agreement, and that all reports to the contrary are without foundation."

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This exchange of amenities in the North found their counterpart in the South also, where the merchants of Georgia were apparently paying very little attention to their compact, and were continuing to import without regard to the obligation imposed upon them by their resolutions of September, 1769. They too were influenced by the partial repeal of the Townshend Act and considered their duty done when they excluded from their list of imports the single article, tea, the duty on which had not been removed. Probably this article was smuggled there as elsewhere from Amsterdam or St. Eustatius, so that to all intents and purposes the ports of Georgia throughout the period had been open to British goods. We know that her imports increased from £56,000 to £58,000 during the year 1769. To the Sons of Liberty of Charles Town this breach of faith was a sign of depravity. At the Liberty Tree meeting of September 27th, in denouncing the people of Rhode Island, they denounced those of Georgia also as having "acted a most singularly infamous part from the beginning of the present glorious struggle for the preservation of American liberties to this very instant," and because of their having basely taken "every possible advantage of the virtuous colonies" they voted to have nothing more to do with them.[1]

While thus Charles Town was expressing its opinion of Georgia, Newport of Providence, and Providence of Newport and Windham, and nearly all the colonies were breaking off intercourse with Rhode Island, Portsmouth was having its fling at Boston, and Albany at New York. The Portsmouth merchants had never adopted a non-intercourse agreement, and at this juncture were making extensive importations, which were not only exposed for sale, but were bought freely by the inhabitants of the town. At its meeting on May 25th, the Trade of Boston had resolved to have no intercourse with either the merchants or the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and had sent a letter to the former, urging them to change their attitude. But nothing was done, perhaps for the reason, as one of the Portsmouth people wrote to Boston, that they had no leader to direct public opinion.[2] A leader was to come, but not one favorable to the Boston proposal. On June 19, Patrick McMasters was "carted out" of Bos-

[1] South Carolina Gazette, June 28, 1770.

[2] South Carolina Gazette, July 12, 1770. Letter from Portsmouth to Boston, May 28, 1770, quoted in the South Carolina Gazette: "The merchants here have

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ton and with his brothers fled to Portsmouth. The presence of the McMasters must have served to stiffen the town's determination to resist, for shortly afterwards the following notification was posted:

A number of people in the town of Boston have arrogantly published certain resolutions not to trade with this province. The total stopping of the coasting trade with Boston will directly advance the commercial and landed interest of the province. Every friend of the province will joyfully embrace the profer'd opportunity to assert his freedom and scorn all chains, even those forg'd in Boston.[1]

The position of Albany is somewhat obscure. Having entered the agreement in the summer of 1769, the merchants had remained outwardly faithful, although there is every reason to believe that Indian and other goods were imported by way of Quebec and Montreal, in disregard of the promises made to New York. Finally on May 18th, hearing that other colonies were "altering" their agreements, Albany decided to "alter" hers also, throwing open the trade to all goods, except tea. New York wrote on May 26th, expostulating so vigorously with the Albany merchants that they rescinded their action and went back to their former position. Naturally they were indignant when news came later of New York's decision to withdraw, and that too without consulting her sister colonies, and on August 7th the Albany merchants wrote a letter, expressing their opinion of New York in no uncertain terms.[2]

While the tide of success was thus ebbing in the outlying sections of the colonial area and discord was raising its ugly head among some of the individual towns, serious weaknesses were manifesting themselves in the very heart of the system itself. In New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Boston, the control of the movement was passing into the hands of the radicals, who under the designation of Sons of Liberty were demanding the continuation of the

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received a letter from merchants in Boston on the affair of non-importation, but have not yet come to a final resolution. Happy should we be had we a generous Hancock to lead the way. . . . The inhabitants are friends to liberty but need powerful leaders."

[1] Rowe, Diary, June 19, 1770; Massachusetts Gazette, July 5, 1770; Adams, Annals of Portsmouth, pp. 226–227.

[2] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, August 20, November 8, 1770; New York Journal, August 23, 1770.

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agreements in all their vigor. This radical party was composed of those who were poor and suffering, heavily in debt and in fear of the sheriff, of the typical frontier unrestrained element, spoiling for a mix-up and easily subject to crowd influences, of honest believers in the constitutional rights and liberties of the colonies and the "unalterable laws of nature," but with no interest in law or tradition or sympathy with the British colonial argument, and, lastly, of those who profited by smuggling and saw in the perpetuation of the movement a gain rather than a loss to themselves. In Boston and Philadelphia the conservative and radical forces acted more or less in combination, members of the merchant class being among the most active supporters of liberty and constitutional rights; in the smaller towns, where mercantile activities were ancillary to the dominant agricultural life, the radical or patriotic party was generally in control, while in the upper South — Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina — the planters and lesser farmers were radical in sympathy, upholding the movement in the interest of American liberty and gradually forcing the moderates either to conform or to withdraw. In Charles Town the merchants and Sons of Liberty worked together in a fair degree of harmony, while in Georgia the conservatives seem to have been in control, for Jonathan Bryan and the few individuals excepted in the Charles Town vote of denunciation were unable to swing the movement in favor of prohibition. The test was now to come in the leading seaports. Would the radicals be able to maintain the agreements unaltered or would the conservatives win the day? In New York, where the decision was first reached, the two parties were well matched, the conservative merchants wishing to open the trade, the mechanics, tradesmen, retailers, and political radicals, aided by some of the merchants who had great influence with the populace, rejecting all compromise.

In both Philadelphia and New York, the repeal of the Townshend Act had been anticipated as early as November, 1769, and orders had been sent to England for the shipment of goods on condition that that event took place. During the winter the British merchants had gone ahead preparing goods for despatch to America, and the news of only a partial repeal came as a serious blow to them. They wrote letters to their correspondents in America saying that the failure of the total repeal was mortifying and exposed them to serious losses.

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They hoped that the merchants, particularly those of Philadelphia, would enlarge their list of exemptions, and so keep the channel of trade open, or else would fall on some other method of saving them from "a melancholy situation." They informed their correspondents that goods were daily being shipped to Virginia, Maryland, Boston, Rhode Island, and Montreal, and would hence circulate through all the colonies, as the greater part were ordered by strangers unaccustomed to trade, and that unless the old merchants should order goods, the business would certainly find its way through a new channel.[1]

For these and other reasons, dissatisfaction found expression in Philadelphia early in 1770, and in April and May meetings of subscribers and importers were held in order to consider whether some alteration might not be made in the agreement. Many felt that the stagnation in business was unbearable and that the burden of suffering, not only within the city and province but also among the colonists at large, was unevenly distributed.[2] At a general meeting on May 14th, it was decided to send a letter to Boston, asking the merchants there how they felt about importation, and though in the meantime rumors spread that Rhode Island had defected and the New England merchants were secretly importing, the sentiment in Philadelphia was favorable to a strict adherence.[3] Final action was postponed until June 5th, when it was expected that replies would have been received from the other colonies, upon which a general and harmonious agreement might be based.

[1] Letters to Stephen Collins from Benj. & John Bowers, Manchester, February 1, 1770; William Neate, London, February 7, March 6, 26, 1770; Harford & Powell, February 28, 1770; Williams, Bellamy & Williams, London, March 1, 1770; Nath. & Robert Denison, Nottingham, March 8, 1770; and the many letters from Samuel Elam of Hull. Benj. & John Bowers wrote that they would be "very great sufferers," as "the greatest part of their fortune was expended in manufactures designed for the American market" (Collins Papers).

[2] Henry Drinker to Abel James, 1769–1770 (Pennsylvania Magazine, xiv. 43). See the letter of "Plebarius," in the Pennsylvania Gazette, May 24, 1770, suggesting a general subscription for the sufferers.

[3] Drinker wrote, May 26, 1770, that "notwithstanding the little dirty colony of Rhode Island had shamefully broken faith," yet this "flagrant violation and breach of their plighted honour" had not "staggered the merchants of New York or this place." In May "A Tradesman" wrote to the Pennsylvania Chronicle urging his brethren to enter into Resolutions denying their custom to any "who should dare an infraction of the mercantile resolutions."

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On June 2d, the New York committee of inspection sent by express riders to New Brunswick, Elizabeth, and Perth Amboy, and to Philadelphia, Boston, and towns in Connecticut, letters signed by eighteen principal merchants, asking the recipients to collect as soon as possible the sentiments of their communities, whether to abide by the present agreement or to import at once everything except articles taxed. The committee also requested them to appoint six deputies each to meet at Norwalk on June 18th, for the purpose of exchanging opinions and of adopting "one solid system for the benefit of the whole, that no one colony may be liable to the censure or reproaches of another, but all share the same fate."[1] The request carried with it the undoubted hint that this "General Conference of the Merchants on the Continent" should vote to alter the agreement, and because of this fact it met with a cold reception. Though Connecticut at its meeting in Hartford[2] voted to send delegates, its committee of merchants reported against altering the agreement on the ground that a refusal to import tea, because affecting only the East India Company, which did not represent the English nation, would not influence in any way English manufacturers and would only serve to discourage friends, encourage the administration, and render futile any further associations in America. They were not impressed by the argument that as England had yielded in part so they were bound in honor to yield also, which was presented by their New York and Philadelphia brethren.

Boston's answer, drawn up at the meeting of the merchants on June 7, 1770, at which John Rowe and probably other merchants of conservative tendencies were not present, was a definite refusal of New York's request. It declared that the least alteration in the agreement would show "a levity of disposition probably injurious to the common cause," and that as Boston was only one of six maritime

[1] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 2, 1770; New London Gazette, June 15, 1770.

[2] The Hartford meeting was held on June 1, so that there must have been an earlier letter, but I have not been able to trace it. It appears to have been written as early as May 16. There was a New York merchants' meeting on the 18th, but that was called to discuss non-importation, and deferred action, hoping the duty would be repealed (New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 21, 1770). An earlier letter from Connecticut was sent on May 19, replying to that from New York, and signed by Matthew Talcott, Richard Alsop, and Silas Deane (ibid. July 23, 1770).

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towns in the province, she could not act without their advice and consent. At the same meeting the merchants voted non-intercourse with Portsmouth and, at this time or soon after, disclosed the spirit that was in them by posting the names of ten firms which were importing contrary to the agreement, and threatening all who traded with them.[1] Philadelphia also at its meeting on June 5th rejected New York's request and voted to adhere to the former agreements, and all the leading towns of New Jersey followed Philadelphia's example.

Thus rebuffed, the New York merchants proceeded with their plans. On Monday, June 11th, a number of merchants and mechanics waited on the committee of inspection, desiring that the sense of the city should be taken by subscription, whether to alter the agreement or not. A meeting was called the same evening, at which a form of ballot was drawn up and persons were appointed to circulate it. The question asked was, "Do you approve of a general importation of goods from Great Britain, except tea and other articles which are or may be subject to a duty on importation, or do you approve of our non-importation agreement continuing in the manner it now is?" The result of the canvass was believed to show a majority of votes favorable to alteration, and at once an advertisement was inserted in the papers and letters were despatched to Philadelphia and Boston, requesting their concurrence and saying that in case they did not agree, the sense of the town would again be taken.[2] This action of New York roused a storm of protest, not only from other colonies but also within the city itself. A meeting of the Sons of Liberty, led by Isaac Sears and Peter Vanderwort, registered a lively dissent, and both Boston and Philadelphia rejected the proposal absolutely.

[1] Boston Gazette, June 11, 1770; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, June 25, 1770. The names are printed in a supplement to the Boston Gazette, June 18, 1770. They are John Gillespie, John Bernard, James McMasters, Patrick McMasters, Nathaniel Rogers, William Jackson, Theophilus Lillie, John Taylor, Ame and Elizabeth Cuming, Israel Williams & Son of Hatfield, and Henry Barnes of Marlborough. These firms had already been publicly entered in the town records on March 19, and may have been acted upon at the merchants' meeting of April 20, but I find no earlier publication in the newspapers.

[2] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, June 18, 1770. The members of the merchants' committee were Isaac Low, chairman, Henry Remsen, Jr., Jacob Walton, and J. H. Cruger. Isaac Low advertised in the Post Boy, November 26, 1770, that he had imported and that he had a right to do so and that he had certain goods for sale and hoped people would buy of him. A curious advertisement.

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Returns from Connecticut and New York showed that the sentiment in those colonies was hotly in favor of the agreements.[1] Consequently, on July 9th, the New York merchants, acting on the terms of their letter, took a second vote, ward by ward, and when the result showed a victory for importation, they despatched their orders by the packet the Earl of Halifax, which by special arrangement with the postmaster was held to await the result of the voting, and these orders were for goods of every kind, except tea.[2]

New York's defection was a mortal blow to the cause and stirred the non-importing colonies to indignation and anger. It was the first permanent break in the system, for Newport, whose withdrawal in May had resulted in her commercial isolation, later reconsidered her action and returned to the fold. In New York city, the Sons of Liberty held meetings denouncing the merchants and declaring that not a pound's worth of goods, imported contrary to the agreement, should be allowed to land. They called the importers the "court party" and charged the chairman of the committee, Isaac Low, with being in the pay of England and truckling for office. They denied that the vote represented a majority of the citizens, in that only about a fourth took part, 1100 out of 4000, the remainder refraining from voting, thinking the proceedings irregular.[3] But the radicals, because of their violent methods, were rapidly losing their influence, and when in October the elections were held for city magistrates, they were defeated by a large majority.[4]

Outside of New York the verdict against the merchants' action was almost unanimous. The Philadelphians had a meeting at the State

[1] A letter to the Boston Gazette, June 25, 1770, gives the anti-merchants' point of view.

[2] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 9, 16, 1770. See a very informing letter sent by Alexander Colden, postmaster, to Anthony Todd, secretary to the postmasters general in London, July 11, 1770 (New York Colonial Documents, viii. 218–221).

[3] New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 23, 1770. In a supplement to the paper appears a complete list of "alterers," returned by the ward committees to the committee of inspection. It distinguishes between "Importers," "Those zealous for Importing," and "Shop-keepers," and was printed to show that only about 800 were for importing, whereas there were probably 3000 whose votes ought to have been taken. In the list is the name of John Glover, Samuel Elam's agent in New York, whose letters throw light on the situation in the city at this time.

[4] Becker, op. cit., p. 93.

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House on July 14th and passed reproachful resolutions, calling New York's decision a "sordid and wanton defection from the common cause," and voted to break off all commercial intercourse with her.[1] The inhabitants of Elizabeth, Woodbridge, and New Brunswick rapidly followed Philadelphia's example, hoping to cut loose from the commercial bondage to New York, as Portsmouth had hoped to do from Boston, and to set up an independent port at Perth Amboy.[2] The students at Nassau Hall, on July 13, on the tolling of the college bell, went in a procession to a place fronting the college and burnt the letter from New York at the hands of a hangman hired for the purpose.[3] On the arrival of the letter at Boston, the Body met, certain of the number marching to the hall in procession, with flags flying, upon one of which was inscribed "Liberty and no-importation," and there they "voted unanimously that the said letter, in just indignation, abhorrence, and detestation be forthwith torn into pieces and thrown to the winds as unworthy the least notice, which sentence was immediately executed." The breach in the body of the Boston merchants was now complete. Some of them attempted to prevent the procession, and John Rowe, blaming the bearer of the flag, declared that the meeting would prove "very prejudicial to the merchants and trade of the town of Boston." The Society had fallen under the control of the extremists, who wanted no compromise with Great Britain. This became evident when, a week later, the Body met and appointed a committee composed of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, William Molineux, and others, to go to the northern towns, Salem, Marblehead, Haverhill, etc., whence rumors of importations had come, and see if these rumors were true. The committee was then to go southward to Providence and Newport.

[1] The protest is printed in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, August 6, 1770.

[2] New Jersey Archives, xxvii. 202, 204, 206-207, 215, 218-219.

[3] Madison to his father, July 23, 1770 (Writings, 1900, i. 7; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, July 16, 1770). At the Princeton Commencement Exercises, September 26, 1770, "Mr. *Ogden* defended this Proposition. *The Non-Importation Agreement reflects a Glory on the American Merchants, and was a noble Exertion of Self denial and public Spirit.* He was opposed by Mr. *Horton*, to whom Mr. *John Smith* replied." At the same exercises, "Mr. *Frelinghuysen* pronounced an Oration on the Utility of American Manufactures," and "In the Afternoon Mr. *Wilson* began an Oration on Commerce" (New Jersey Archives, xxvii. 268, 269).

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The merchants of Salem and Newport were so angry at the news that they threatened to tar and feather the committee, on the ground that Molineux was an agitator and a nuisance, raising disturbances wherever he went. Nothing happened, however, and the committee, or certain members of it, made the visits northward and reported all satisfactory; and though on their southward journey they accomplished little at Providence, they persuaded Newport to renew her agreement, at a meeting on August 20th, Thomas Cranston, chairman, on the promise that Boston would intercede with the southern colonies to resume commercial intercourse with her. This Boston did, at the meeting held September 7th to hear the report of the committee, and as the first result of the letter despatched for the purpose, Philadelphia renewed soon after the old relations with Newport.[1]

Town after town followed in the wake of Philadelphia and Boston, denouncing the attitude of New York and severing commercial relations with her — Rye, Huntington, Hartford,[2] Norwich, New Haven,[3] Chesterfield, Mansfield, Hanover, Springfield, and Nottingham,[4] Burlington, Monmouth, and Sussex counties in New Jersey, Annapolis, Talbot county (Maryland),[5] and others. Already on June

[1] Rowe, Diary, July 24, 1770; Massachusetts Gazette, July 26, 1770; Boston Gazette, July 30, August 20, 27, September 4, 1770; New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, August 17, 1770; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, August 27, September 10, 24, 1770; Essex Gazette, August 28, 1770; Pennsylvania Gazette, September 20, 1770; Newport Historical Magazine, iii. 256.

[2] Boston Gazette, August 13, 20, 1770. "The gentleman-merchants of the committee in Connecticut, met at Hartford, Aug. 4, declared their abhorrence of New York, issued a card calling for a closing of all accounts with the merchants there, and on the 7th authorized the publishing of five names, William Bowes, Rufus Greene, Edward Church, Nathaniel Cary, and William Coffin, Jr." Their resolution declared that New York's act was "in downright violation of the solemn agreement of this colony and of the neighbouring provinces . . . an infamous breach of their public faith plighted to her sister colonies not to import, and is a practice so destructive to the natural and civil rights and liberties of the people of America, that we must hold New York . . . . in the utmost detestation and abhorrence." This quotation illustrates the almost universal tendency to identify non-importation, at this time, with the constitutional claims.

[3] "The Plea of New Haven for Non-Importation," July 26, 1770, is printed from the Emmet Papers in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, i. 184. It speaks of "our backsliding Brethren of New York, who have meanly prostituted the Common Cause to the present sordid prospect of a little Pelf." The meeting was presided over by Roger Sherman.

[4] Representatives from these five towns met at Mansfield and took action.

[5] Scharf, History of Maryland, i. 118–119, where the resolutions are given.

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22d members of the House of Burgesses in Virginia had met with a body of merchants at Williamsburg and renewed the association;[1] on July 5th, the Sons of Liberty of North Carolina met at Wilmington, renewed their agreement, promised to sacrifice all intercourse with the West Indies, and to watch importations with care.[2] On August 22d, "a most respectable General Meeting of the Inhabitants" of South Carolina was held at the Liberty Tree, and denouncing New York's defection as "a scandalous revolt from the common cause of freedom and a bait to destroy every constitutional right," voted to break off all commercial intercourse with her.[3]

Among all the protests against the action of New York, none is more interesting and instructive than that of Connecticut, for it shows the attitude of a colony where mercantile interests played little part and where the predominant agricultural life was favorable to the cultivation of individualistic notions of human rights and liberties. The merchant-farmers of Hartford, Middletown, New Haven, Norwich, and Norwalk were ardent supporters of non-importation, a virtue that cost them little as they imported no goods directly from Great Britain. Connecticut had traded with Boston to 1750, when owing to certain currency acts of Massachusetts, deemed injurious and unjust, her merchants turned their trade to New York. But trade was always a subordinate issue in Connecticut, for whenever anything favorable to it was proposed in the general assembly, the farmers

[1] The Association of June 22, 1770, is differently worded in its preamble from that of May 18, 1769. It is less rhetorical and more businesslike in tone. The articles run about the same, except that the list of goods not to be imported is considerably altered. The Association is signed by Peyton Randolph for the burgesses and Andrew Sprowle of Gosport for the merchants (Virginia Gazette, June 28, 1770; New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 23, 1770; Boston Gazette, July 23, 1770).

[2] Cape Fear Mercury, July 11, 1770; South Carolina Gazette, July 5, 26, August 9, 1770; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, August 13, 1770. In reply to a letter from Charles Town, addressed to the Sons of Liberty of North Carolina, a committee, composed of members from Wilmington, New Hanover county, Bladen county, Duplin county, Onslow county, and Cumberland county, met at Wilmington. It took the members a long time to get together, as "the gentlemen lived long distances apart." Many of the merchants refused to sign the renewal.

[3] To the Sons of Liberty of Charles Town the New Yorkers were "traitors to their country, themselves, and ages yet unborn, who, no doubt, when groaning under a British yoke will forever curse the traitors" (South Carolina Gazette, August 16, 23, 1770; New Jersey Archives, xxvii. 293).

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opposed such propositions as a scheme of the merchants, and incompatible with their interests. Many of the merchants themselves were farmers and landowners and to them non-importation was an advantage, as tending to raise the value of lands, increase the price of agricultural produce, and turn the balance of trade in their favor. Those who protested in Connecticut acted rather as landholders than merchants, and while keenly alive to their rights, they were also keenly alive to their profits. Importation, which was favorable to the merchants in the cities, was unfavorable to those who were farmers and landowners first and traders afterwards. Hence we have the most rhetorical and denunciatory resolutions from the country districts in Massachusetts, from the colonies of Connecticut and New Jersey, and from the planters of the South.

When news of what New York had done came to Connecticut, letters were sent to the principal trading towns of the colony, calling for a meeting of the merchants at New Haven, on September 13, 1770. The meeting was duly held, with Gurdon Saltonstall in the chair, and Silas Deane acting as clerk, and a series of elaborate resolutions was drafted, upholding non-importation, accepting again the long list of exemptions adopted the February before, and characterizing the defection of New York as a "precipitate desertion of the common cause of American liberty," and a violation of "reiterated solemn engagements with the other colonies, not only without their consent but in direct contradiction to their advice and entreaties." Then they voted to break off all intercourse with her.[1]

[1] Connecticut Courant, September 17, 1770. Just where Connecticut intended to purchase English goods is not clear. The merchants had broken with Boston, and now they broke with New York. New Haven, in its earlier non-importation agreement, voted to trade with Philadelphia and Boston, and probably in this case a return to the Boston connection was designed. "A Connecticut Farmer," writing to the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, August 27, 1770, urges the cutting loose from all connections and the opening up of direct trade with England. He wanted Connecticut to have her own trade just as the New Jersey towns were hoping to do. This cutting of new channels of trade was in the minds of the freeholders and inhabitants of Sussex county, New Jersey, a region of wheat, and iron and steel furnaces, who, in voting non-intercourse with New York, declared that they would send their wheat and iron by the "more natural and easy water carriage down the River Delaware to our friends at Trenton and Philadelphia." As early as 1738, Gov. Morris of New Jersey wrote to the Board of Trade: "They [the people] have warm desires and are big with hopes of carrying on a trade directly with Great Britain, instead of receiving Euro-

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The New York merchants resented bitterly the attitude of the other colonies, but with no one were they so angry as with those of Boston, who had treated their letter with such scorn and indignity. They believed themselves to have been very strict in adhering to their agreement, and had greeted the information furnished by John Mein's pamphlet and sheets with something akin to consternation. In November and December, 1769, they became very uneasy lest Boston should not stand by her agreement and said that what John Mein was printing and what the merchants abroad were saying seemed to show that the merchants there were not acting with as much spirit and honesty as they themselves were. When Boston refused to coöperate with them in June, 1770, the New York committee replied that the refusal made a bad impression, for had the congress at Norwalk been held it might have had happy results, but rejected "gave so much discontent that numbers said it was only a scheme in you to continue importing under pompous resolves against it." [1] Though

pean commodities from their neighbors of Boston, New York, and Pennsylvania" (Colonial Office, 5: 973, F 31).

[1] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, October 15, 1770. New York said: "Can Carolina, Philadelphia, Albany, New Brunswick, Woodbridge, or New Haven, etc, still retain a desire to hold a union with these gentlemen [of Boston], though they promise ever so great a Union in Deceit? Can you still resolve and protest against the merchants in New York, who maintained their agreement inviolate, untill they were convinced of the propriety of an Alteration, and then acted bold and upright, publickly declaring their Intentions to the world — like Honest Men" (Massachusetts Gazette, October 4, 1770, supplement). For a Boston statement, see ibid. September 6, 1770, and note the following as a specimen of language used in Boston: "At this juncture, when the merchants of New York have shamefully violated the agreement and forsaken the cause of this country, — when those who wish to have the chains *fastened* upon us are assiduous in their endeavours to scatter the seeds of discord among the other colonies, — when they are casting the most *malicious aspersions* on the merchants of this town and province, and are artfully endeavouring to render them particularly odious in the eyes of the world, — when we feel the hand of oppression and tyranny daily growing more and more heavy upon us, — when the enemies of *America*, destitute of shame or remorse, insolently begin to laugh at her struggles for Freedom, and already flatter themselves that in a little time despotic power shall gain a complete triumph in a land of Liberty, — at such a time and under such circumstances everyone will judge it is the duty of each Individual in the community who loves his country to attend the public meetings — There to deliberate and consult with *candor*, to determine with *wisdom*, and to execute with that undaunted fortitude which becomes those only who are RESOLVED to be FREE." This statement was made at a meeting held in Faneuil Hall, and we are not surprised that it had to be adjourned because so few were present.

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local conditions had their influence, and though the partial repeal of the Townshend Act played its part, yet the feeling that other seaports were breaking through their agreements rankled in the heart of the New York merchant. That goods were coming in by way of Boston, Philadelphia, and Annapolis, while the port of New York was tightly closed, was unbearable, and though the figures given and statements made in Mein's papers and the letters from England may not all have been true, the fact that the New York merchants believed them to be true is the main thing. They charged these cities with hypocrisy, and when the committee of inspection at Annapolis called the New Yorkers "rotten and treacherous," the latter retaliated by accusing the Annapolitans of clandestine trading and raising the prices of goods, and with having waited a year before taking action and then restricted their non-importation to but a few articles, an effort "untimely and feeble."

The Philadelphia merchants also became uneasy, as rumor after rumor came that Boston and other colonies were importing. They were told by a London correspondent that between Christmas, 1769, and June, 1770, £150,000 worth of goods had been sent to Boston, which seemed to show, as a writer to the Pennsylvania Gazette put it, that "the conduct of the Boston people was not as consistent as could be wished."[1] They were warned by another writer that the situation was one deserving to be carefully weighed by judicious merchants, especially by themselves, who had thus far "been duped by all the other provinces."[2] Stephen Collins, one of the most active of them at this time in urging alteration of the trade, believed the charges against Boston when he said, "The opening of the trade except in duty goods seems to be gaining ground fast and I think this province in perticular has been Deep'd [duped] long enough already, [and ought not] to suffer their Intrest to be sacreficed any longer;" and a little later he added, "I having on my part taken no small pains to bring it about, being highly suspicious that we were become the Dupe of some other colonies in the cause; which was fully evinced to

When the next meeting was held on September 5, a letter was voted to be sent to say that all the New York charges against Boston were "WITHOUT FOUNDATION" (Massachusetts Gazette, September 20, 1770).

[1] Pennsylvania Gazette, June 14, 1770.

[2] New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, August 27, 1770.

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me on my arival at Boston, where I was amas'd to see the Quantity of goods amongst them." To John Glover of New York he wrote, November 20th, "It seems as though I could not put up without seeing thee before thou goes to that Rebbel Town Boston, amongst them Deceitful, Canting Presbyterian Deacons." [1]

Under these circumstances, alteration in Philadelphia could not be long postponed. The manner in which it was effected can best be told in the "candid and true account" given in the letter of the committee of merchants, September 25th. After stating that the original agreement had been subscribed by only about 300, though "the rest of the inhabitants concurred in the measure so as to discountenance and discourage any attempts to violate it," and that for some time "the greatest harmony subsisted," the account proceeds:

> The plan of non-importation not producing an immediate and total repeal of the act, some whose living and others whose prospects of gain depended on importing goods began to be uneasy under these restrictions. With them the members [seven in number] who had broken off from the committee associated. Sundry meetings were held, and in May last [1770], measures being previously concerted, a vigorous push was made to break the agreement entered into. The voice of the public which was against them, and some concurring circumstances prevented them from carrying their design at the time, but the defection of New York, which followed soon after, giving them fresh spirits, they rallied again, and having secretly concerted a plan, they got a paper drawn up, signed by themselves and seven others, which they presented to the chairman of the committee on the eve of the 12th inst. [September], and because the committee would not comply with their proposal which was contrary to the non-importation agreement, the gentlemen themselves, without consulting the committee, ordered notices to be sent around to call a general meeting of the subscribers at D[avenport]'s tavern, in order that none but subscribers might be present. A number of subscribers refused to come, but the committee was present.[2]

The meeting was held on September 24th, with Thomas Willing in the chair. Voting down three substitute motions, to consult the other colonies, to adopt the Maryland and Virginia forms of non-importa-

[1] Letters to Samuel Elam and William Neate, November 24, 1770, and to John Glover, November 20, 1770 (Collins Papers).

[2] Pennsylvania Gazette, October 4, 1770.

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tion, or to adopt the same provided New York and Boston would agree, and refusing to submit the question to the inhabitants of the city, the subscribers carried through a resolution to alter the agreement and to open the trade in all but tea and other dutiable articles.[1] This action of the subscribers called out indignant protests from the people of Philadelphia and the neighborhood, and a meeting was called at the State House on the 27th, with Joseph Fox as chairman, which deprecated the hasty action of the "importers of dry goods" and recommended the acceptance of an agreement like that of Maryland. Though the merchants immediately despatched orders to England, the feeling against them was so strong in the city, that even in November there was some doubt as to whether consignments could be safely received.[2] But with goods coming in by way of New York and Maryland, the Philadelphians could not hold out, and before November was over the port was open for all but the dutiable articles.[3]

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[1] Pennsylvania Gazette, October 4, 1770; New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, October 1, 1770. Capt. Bosley wrote to Collins: "Last Thursday was a meeting of the subscribers to the non-importation agreement at Davenport's. J. Gibson spoke much and I am told very well against the trade being opened; W. West spoke strainously on the other side and gained the point. They are now making out their orders to go by the London packet, Capt. Cook" (Collins Papers).

[2] Many London merchants had sent goods to Philadelphia in August and September, hoping the trade would be opened. Samuel Elam of Hull loaded the ship Commerce in August with bales for both New York and Philadelphia, and consigned them to John Glover, New York. Glover had a great deal of trouble with this consignment, for it was not until November that Philadelphia merchants dared receive their bales. Some of the Philadelphia consignees were Geo. Emlin, Abraham Usher, Joseph Swift, Benj. Wynkoop, Isaac & Joseph Paschall, Jacob Winey, James & Drinker, William Wisher, Richard Parker, Thomas Clifford & Son, John & Clem Biddle, Matthias Aspden, John Steinmetz, Caleb & Amos Foulke, and Stephen Collins. All wrote Glover in November to forward by the Bordentown stage, to be deposited at the Crooked Billet tavern. "I believe none will hinder their coming," wrote Parker. "Do not apprehend there will be any difficulty in receiving of them," wrote the Cliffords. As it happened, the Commerce was wrecked off the Maryland coast, November 11, and though 400 bales were saved they were so much damaged that they had to be sold at public vendue in New York (Collins Papers; New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, December 3, 1770).

[3] "Goods are dayley arriving here from New York," wrote C. & A. Foulke, November 15; "I find great quantities of goods are coming here from Maryland," B. Wynkoop, November 10; "I have an assortment of broadcloths coming by

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Just as the news from New York aroused the subscribers of Philadelphia, so the news from New York and Philadelphia aroused the merchants of Boston. The meetings of the Club at Mrs. Cordis's were very frequent in September and John Rowe was present at nearly all of them. He was also present at the General Meeting on September 15th, when the decision was reached to send a letter to Philadelphia proposing a "meeting of committees from the neighboring colonies," the very thing that the Boston merchants had rejected so vehemently when New York suggested it in June. Manifestly the moderates, who had not approved of the proceedings of the Body in the summer of 1770, were once more in control, and the agitators were losing credit in Boston as they were doing in New York at the same time.[1] But the decision of September 15th came too late, The Philadelphia merchants had already made up their minds to alter the agreement and hope of united action was no longer possible. Although Salem made a last effort to uphold non-importation,[2] the end had come. When the circular letter arrived from Philadelphia, there could be no longer doubt as to what Boston would do. On October 11th the Body met at the Coffee House and unanimously voted to accept the inevitable, by altering the agreement and opening the ports to all goods from Great Britain, except tea. On the 18th all stored articles were returned to their owners.

Providence, Marblehead, and Salem followed, and advertisements began to appear in the papers of prohibited goods exhibited for sale,

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way of Maryland, which will be sufficient for my spring sale," Abraham Usher, November 29 (Letters to John Glover).

[1] This is inferred from the names of the members present (Rowe, Letters and Diary, pp. 206–207.)

[2] A meeting was held in Salem in September to denounce the "infamous conduct" of the four importers (p. 235, above) who had signed the agreement of May 2, 1770, and on September 22 had broken it by taking their goods out of storage, "breaking open the stores with force and violence, armed with a process of law, and assisted by the under-sheriff." The meeting voted to boycott the stores and shops of the four, and even the truckman who handled the goods. A narrative of the circumstances, a terrible piece of thunder, is given in the Essex Gazette, October 2, 1770. Peter Frye, one of the offenders, wrote a letter defending himself, and saying that there were so many leaks everywhere, at Marblehead, Portsmouth, and Boston, that he was justified in seizing his property and offering it for sale. In the Essex Gazette of the 9th are published the names of three persons who had purchased goods of the four (Boston Gazette, October 8, 1770; Essex Gazette, October 2, 9, 1770).

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"by leave of the committee of inspection."[1] Salem was selling articles "imported in the last ships from London" in December; glass, paper, and painters' colors were freely offered, and by the opening of the new year trade was in full swing, somewhat to the embarrassment of the English merchants, one of whom wrote, "The Boston trade coming at the heel of the Philadelphia trade has been of some inconvenience to us."[2] That Boston's action caused surprise and some consternation in New England, we can well believe. Said one writer: "From the borders of Connecticut all the way to Boston, you will find people in every town exclaiming against Boston, for imposing upon the country, by false representations and drawing them into measures which they say will ruin the province;" and John Temple could speak of that "unfortunate & (I could wish) ever to be forgotten year 1770 when with everything at stake, they threw up the important game when they had all the trumps in their own hands & like a Spaniel meanly cringed & kiss'd the rod that whip'd them."[3]

With the northern ports open from Portsmouth to the Delaware, the southern colonies could not long hold out. The merchants of Baltimore recommended alteration at a meeting in that town on October 5th, but at a general convention at Annapolis, three weeks later, the Baltimore suggestion was thrown out and a vote to adhere was adopted. No further action appears to have been taken, but after the news from Boston arrived, all attempts to uphold the agreement seem to have been given up. Of formal alteration in Virginia,[4] North Carolina,[5] and Georgia we have no sign, but at Charles Town,

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[1] Essex Gazette, November 20, 1770.

[2] Denison Bros. to Collins, January 10, 1771.

[3] Boston Gazette, December 24, 1770; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 284.

[4] Virginia was one of the last, if not the very last, to give in. Perkins, Buchanan & Brown wrote to Thomas Adams, April 9, 1770: "The duty on Tea is yet retained, the repealing the other three articles certainly does not redress the grievance North America complained of. This being the case surely your resolution of May 18 should be strictly observed" (Virginia Historical Society, File 5). Just when action was taken I have not discovered, but it was not until after June 1, 1771, for on that date Jefferson wrote from Monticello to Adams, "The day appointed for the meeting of the associates is not yet arrived, but it seems certain that the restrictions will be taken off everything but the dutied articles" (Jefferson, Writings, i. 387).

[5] Regarding the situation in North Carolina, James Iredell wrote in October,

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after intelligence had been received of the departure of most of the northern colonies from their resolutions, a general meeting of the inhabitants was held at the Liberty Tree on December 13th, with Henry Laurens in the chair. After much silence and hesitation a "breaking through" motion was carried. Tea was barred, luxuries discouraged, and local manufactures upheld, but otherwise business returned to its former freedom. On the 27th, all British goods held in confinement were released and given back to their owners. So ill-content were the South Carolinians with the conduct of the northern colonies, that it was with difficulty a vote was defeated declaring for commercial non-intercourse with them, and the printer of the Gazette probably expressed a general feeling when he wrote:

> They are restrained by only one Consideration, that the Defection not having been among the *Landholders*, *Farmers*, and *Mechanicks*, who are perhaps, in general, as well affected to the just Rights and Liberties of America, as ourselves, it would be unjust to retaliate upon *them*, for the Injuries received from *some* of the *Merchants* of those Colonies. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the Trade with those Colonies is far from being *beneficial* to this; that except for *Bar Iron*, *Sheep*, and *Oil*, we might supply ourselves with almost every other article imported thence at Home, by proper attention and encouragement; and that they drain from us our Specie and mostly for mere Trash.[1]

With this somewhat ungenerous fling at the northern colonies, the second movement for the non-importation of British goods came to an end, and, as another southern writer said about the same time, "The so much boasted patriotism of non-importation throughout the colonies seems likely to terminate in nothing worse than to deprive the ladies of a dish of tea."

Thus the non-importation movement which had succeeded so well in 1765 and had been renewed with such enthusiasm in 1768–1769, came to a somewhat untimely end. It had not been a failure, for it was to no inconsiderable extent responsible for the removal of the duties on glass, paper, lead, and painters' colors, but it failed to effect the repeal of the acts of 1764, 1765, and 1766 and the removal of the

1771, "All mobbing is at an end here and we are once more at peace" (McRee, Life of Iredell, i. 93).

[1] South Carolina Gazette, December 13, 27, 1770.

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duty on tea, and it accomplished nothing whatever in the effort to obtain British recognition of the constitutional claims of the colonies. Primarily it came to an end because the merchants in New York and elsewhere were satisfied with the partial repeal of the duties, and were unwilling to undergo further losses for the sake of tea and a constitutional claim which had nothing to do with trade. And there were other reasons which may be briefly summarized.

Before the movement was fairly under way, it began to show serious structural weaknesses. The merchants and importers were divided among themselves, not only on the original question but even more on the place of the movement in the struggle for liberty and self-government. The retailers and tradesmen, possessed of small capitals, found themselves unable to do business, and were threatened with the loss of their trade and consequent ruin. The people at large, to whom non-importation was a matter not of the pocket-book but only of self-denial, due to scarcity and high prices, were antagonistic to the merchant and charged them with preferring gain to patriotism and love of country. The radicals and agitators, irresponsible in thought and action, often added fuel to the flame of discord, and with little to lose engaged in acts of persecution against those who dared to oppose them.

In the system itself there were many defects. The colonies were not united on a common plan. Some were importing without restraint. Others were admitting everything except a few articles. Others again were putting an entire stop to their trade. There could be no firm union where men differed so widely and complained so bitterly. The agreements of the tobacco colonies allowed entrance to articles that were barred in the North. All the southern colonies admitted Indian goods that were so essential to Albany's prosperity, yet Albany, blocked by New York, could legally get none at all. There was a constant tendency to adjust the lists of exemptions, which even in the North were drafted according to local needs and preferences. The importers of dry goods, whose business was standing still, complained of the importers of wines and molasses, who had greater opportunities for profit. Maryland admitted slaves which were excluded elsewhere in the South. Where the agreements were the work of others than the merchants, the latter took umbrage at the voting away of their property by those who were not concerned with trade, and refused to

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submit, a fact seemingly true of Georgia and in a measure true of North and South Carolina also. Many merchants yielded to pressure from England, where shipowners and exporters became restless as their ships lay idle and bent their efforts, often unconsciously, in favor of resumption.

As the movement progressed, the seaports and larger towns were divided into antagonistic and often hostile groups. Laurens speaks of the "squabbles" in Charles Town, about "resolutions, subscriptions, and non-subscribers," etc. "Much too much has been said on both sides," he wrote, "for the parties have left the subject upon which they began to contend and are harrowing each others private characters." The inland towns, to which imports were in themselves but a trifling consideration, found ample opportunity to reprimand the mercantile centres for their lukewarmness to the cause of liberty. The larger towns accused each other of unfaithfulness and hypocrisy, and newspaper writers, in language far too full of calumny and innuendo, engaged in controversy, circulating suspicions without proofs, and making assertions that were sometimes designed to convey false impressions. James Bowdoin expressed surprise that the agreements had "continued so long, for besides the operation of interest there were the underworking and lies of emissaries to make [the colonies] jealous and diffident of each other."

Apart from the psychological aspects of the situation, consideration must be given to the impracticability of non-importation itself. Commerce, like water seeking a lower level, finds its way despite obstacles, and if one channel is closed makes another. Though the imports of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania fell off heavily in the year 1769, so much so that the British merchants complained of their losses and the total balance of trade approached an equilibrium, those of Canada and the Carolinas increased by a third and those of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia by a small but perceptible fraction. Enlarged demands from Russia and other parts of the European continent lightened somewhat the burden of the British merchants, but there were many who, alarmed for the security of their property and fearing a colonial repudiation of debts, sought entrance for their goods into America. Though many cargoes were turned back, others broke through, either by old or by new channels. Quebec and Montreal became loopholes for Albany and New York; Ports-

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mouth, Casco Bay, and Falmouth admitted goods for New England; Cape May was a landing place for Philadelphia; and importations for New York and Philadelphia came in through Maryland and Virginia. No coast line can be completely sealed against the admission of necessary though prohibited goods.

The non-importation movement began as a merchant's device wherewith to obtain a redress of trade grievances; it ended as an instrument in the hands of political agitators and radicals for the enforcement of their claims of constitutional liberty and freedom. Had it been directed by the merchants and conservatives alone, it would undoubtedly have accomplished its purpose, as it did at the time of the Stamp Act; but when wielded by the extremists, it broke under the strain, because those who obtained control of it lost sight of its original object and in admitting no compromise, attempted the impossible.

On behalf of Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE the following communication was made:

Some matters of interest relating to Harvard College are found in the papers of Nathaniel Ames, the younger, of Dedham, who graduated in the class of 1761. Dr. Nathaniel Ames, the father, writing on March 31, 1758, in his son's freshman year, was desirous to know whether the class has been placed. This did not happen, according to the younger Ames's Diary, until May 2, following.[1] The third letter, of November 1, 1758, in his second year, offers a suggestion of medical or surgical training, though the regular medical education at Harvard was not begun until more than twenty years later. After the son's graduation, in July, 1761, he wrote in his Diary on August 17, "Began the practice of Phy. by bleeding a Taylor in the Foot." The son's ledger account of visits to patients began on July 23, 1764, twelve days after the death of his father; and the regular entry of many cases of about the same time suggest his previous care of them. It is not unlikely that he studied with his father during the preceding three years; though no record is found of his receiving a degree of M.D.

[1] Ames's Diary, Dedham Historical Register, i. 12; Faculty Records, ii. 85.

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I

Dedham March 31. 1758

My Child

I have Read the Perceptor if you want the Same only for the Sake of what it teacheth of the Art of Drawing I shall not think it worth Buying tho tiss done well. But if you will Read & Studdy the whole of it I shall think it well worth Purchasing: if your Class is placed send me a list of the Same in the order in which they stand: tell me also who is like to Succeed Mr Syms:[1] as for all your Wants? Mine nor yours will not be supply'd in this World, but you may Name what Presses the hardest. You must send y^r^ Dirty Linning, sheets & all.

We shall send again next week & your Mother says she-ll send you a p^r^ of stocking I suppose she means new ones. I am now Collecting Money to pay My Rents & Excise have sent you 20/— old ten^r^ to keep your Purse from being as Empty as a Poets. be Docile, be Humble, be Good Natured to all about you and into a tender and Honest Heart may you Receive the Grace of God, is the Hearty [*torn*] Affectionate Father

[Nathaniel Ames]

[*Addressed*]
To
Nathl Ames
Stud^t^ at Harvard
Colledge Cambridg

II

Cambridge April 1st 1758

Honoured Father

I am constrained as an humble acknowledgment of my Gratitude often to trouble you with my Letters, as being the only requital for the many benefits & advantages I receive at your hands.

As for the Praeceptor[2] it is a Book which contains a part of almost every Science and it would be very useful to me especially in my present Studies which is Logick and it is very entertaining as well as instructive besides the art of Drawing. the Class is not placed yet, neither do I know who is like to Succeed Mr Symmes. as for my wants I hope you will endeavour to Supply some of them, but I think Money presses hardest for if I had that I could get a great many little necessarys for

[1] Rev. William Symmes (H. C. 1750), Tutor 1755–1758. He was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Jackson (H. C. 1753), Tutor 1758–1760.

[2] Robert Dodsley's Preceptor, first published in 1748, went through several editions.

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my Self & chamb. but I want more stockings, and a pair of Breeches, & some new shirts & necks, so as that I might wear two a week, for I make these prodigious dirty in a week What shall I say more, than return all possible thanks to you, who next to the Love & mercies of God are the Auth [*torn*] well being, who am

With all due Respe[ct]
Your most duly [*torn*]
[NATHANIEL AMES]

P:S: I sent a Letter by Bradshaw yesterday
T Quid non Mortalia Pectora [*torn*] logis, auri sacra fames

[*Addressed*]
To M^r^
Nathl
Ames
of Dedham

III

DEDHAM Novemb^r^ ye 1, 1758

My Son

This my Second Letter pr favour of Mr Israel Hunting I hope you will Receive from his Own Hand togeather with what Necessary things your Mother has sent you and also that you will send back your things and Write to us by the same Hand, if you are like to Make us a visit before the Vacancy perhaps you will chuse it should be about Thanksgiving Time. if you should be a mind to see me at Boston next Week and appoint a Time once more I would Endeavour to Meet you if Health & weather permits at which Time I would bring those Instruments in Order to be fixed up for your Use the use of which Instruments are very Extensive the more you Understand of the same and the better Improvements you make in all your studies the more you will gratify & please your ever

Affec^t^ Father
N. AMES

[*Addressed*]
To
Mr Nathl Ames a
Stud^t^ at Harvard Colledge
Cambridge

In his [Diary Ames makes these entries, which partly explain the following letter:

September, 1760

9 President sick wherefore much Deviltry carried on in College.
15 Father here about Mr Thayers affairs.

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30 Examination about Mr. Thayers affair.

October

1 Schol^{s} Degraded this Morning 2 adm^{shd} 1 punish'd.
10 Kneelands [1] and Thayers Windows broke last night.
28 Examination in ye Chapel 2 Senior Cl^{ss} examined.

June, 1761

30 restored to my former Place.

The Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, of the Class of 1753, was Tutor from 1760 to 1766.

Boston Saturday

Dear S^{r}

The Unhappy Accident that befel several Gentlemen at College having been the subject of Conversation, in several Companies for these some days last past, & having heard that you were by no means the least sufferer, upon the Occasion, I take the freedom heartily to condole with you in your situation, (for one of your known generous spirit) I am sensible from what I have myself seen, not a little Uneasy. Yet if in your Circumstances, the sentiments of some People in Boston, that are concerned in the Government of the College, impartially and freely delivered, after having thoroughly known and considered the Cause of your Punishment; and the General Opinion of our honest unprejudiced Bostonians can afford you any Relief, believe me, instead of condemning your Conduct, they applaud your Resentment at a Tutor acting out of his Province, & hope that that Spirit which rouzed you to vindicate your Rights infringed upon will carry you thro', till concious Guilt of injuring Innocence, the Blot already fixed upon the Character of T——r; & which your Degradation will fix indelibly, shall open the Eyes of his Ignorance, & teach him that the restoring you to your first Place, will be but a small attonement for his Conduct tó Mr Ames

I am Your Unceremonious Friend
W. Hook [2]

[*Addressed*]

To
Mr Nathaniel Ames
Student in
Cambridge
To be left
at Mr Caleb Prentice's

[1] William Kneeland (H. C. 1751), Tutor 1754–1763.

[2] A William Hook was born October 19, 1718 (Vital Records of Cambridge, i. 370). On November 5, 1731, a guardian was appointed for a William Hook, a minor, aged about fourteen (Suffolk Probate Files, No. 6158). The dates indicate that perhaps these two William Hooks were one and the same.

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Further information about this affair is furnished by the Faculty Records. President Holyoke's absence from the meeting of September 5, 1760, on account of illness is noted. On September 30 ten students, including Thomas Palmer, Isaac Rand, Jedidiah Huntington, Michael James Trollet, and Nathaniel Ames, were "punish'd one shilling & 6^{d} each, for making tumultuous and indecent Noises, in the College;" and it was —

Agreed also, at the same Meeting, That as Mr Thayer had made Complaints y^{t} all the above named Students (Huntington excepted) had greatly insulted him when endevouring to still their tumultuous Noises, agreeable to one of the College Laws, That They therefore be all of y^{m} sent for before us (excepting Trollet who was not in Town, & whose punishm^{t} must therefore be deferr'd to some other Time) accordingly when conven'd, after a full Examination of them, we found 'em guilty according to the Complaint, but judging Them so, in different Degrees, Therefore came into the following Votes

1: That Palmer & Rand be publickly admonish'd in the Chapel.

That the Rest of Them, besides being admonish'd, be degraded in their several Classes in the following Manner viz.

Ames fourteen places . . .

This vote was executed on October 1st, "imediately after Morning Prayer." Finally, under date of June 30, 1761, is this entry:

Ames sen^{r} who stands degraded in his Class as in p. 119. was, upon a very humble Confession of his Crime, restor'd to his original place in his Class.[1]

These two accounts tell something of the Ameses as Almanac makers, and their relation to John and Richard Draper of Boston.

Dr Dr Nathaniel Ames, deceased,

to Mr John Draper, deceased. C^{r}

1750/1		
Jany 1.	To 1 Hodder's Arithmetic	1.4
April 5	To a Quire Foolscap Paper	1.10
	To a Quire Justices Writs & Summons . .	1.10
	To ½ Quire Executions	1.
	To Cash p^{d} Sam^{ll} Gardner p Order. . . .	6.13.4
May	To a Quire Post Paper	2.2

[1] Faculty Records, ii. 117, 118–119, 137.

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1752		
March	To p^{d} Col^{o} Henchman's account	7.12.11¾
	To p^{d} Sam^{ll} Gardner p^{r} order	2.13.4
Octr 7	To p^{d} Capt Wm Taylor p order	3.6.8
1754		
May 14	To p^{d} Dr Thos Aston p. order to Thos Downes	11.9.8
	To Remaining Part of Dr Aston's account	2.16.8½
	To Cash p^{d} on Dr Wheats order to Aston	2.5.4
	To News Letters from October 1750 to April 1752	0.4.9½
	To Ditto from October 1752 to October 1754	8.
December 23	To 1 Quire Writs & Summons	1.10½
	To your order pd. Dr Samuel Wheat on the account of Michael Bacon	4.14.
1755		
May 13	To Pool's Annotations of Col^{o} Henchman delivered Mr Sherman	3.6.8
	To Cash pd your order in favour of Cap^{n} Wm Taylor, dated Sep^{t} 13, 1755	8.7.6
Dec. 10	To Cash pd p Receipt.	10.0.
1756		
Octr 8	To Cash pd. Wm Taylor p order	4.13.4
	To Cash p Receipt	6.0.0
1757		
Octr 24	To a Province Note	6.0.0
	To Cash pd Wm Taylor p order	4.13.4
	To Cash pd Wm Story p order . . . . . Ballance of D. Gookin's Account. . . .	1.12.4
	To Cash pd. Thos Leverett for a Trunk Ink jugg & Chest	0.9.10½
1761		
Nov. 5.	To sundrys, pd Mr Hancock for . . . . Ballance of Col^{o} Henchman's Account .	2.18.6¾
	To Cash pd for Copy Almanack for 1759 .	13.6.8
	To News Letter from October 1754 to October 1762	2.7.4
		£106.10.4½

Cr.

1750 October	By Copy of Almanack for 1751	10.13.4
1751 [to 1756]	By D^{o} [each year] for 1752 [to 1757] .	10.13.4

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1757	By D°	for 1758	12.0.0
1758	By D°	for 1759	13.6.8
			£100.0.0

Ballance Due to Estate of Mr John Draper . . £6.10.4½

1764

August 23^d Estate of Dr Nath^ll Ames D^r to Rich^d & Sam^ll Draper To advertising all Persons having Demand on s^d Estate & 0.4.0

Boston, August 25, 1764
Errors Excepted
p Richard Draper Executor

Ballance . . 6.14.4½
which I paid
with Copy of an Almanack
Nat Ames son of
& Admin^r of s^d Nathl dec^d

Boston 1765 Dr. Nathaniel Ames, To W^m M^calpine D^r

Octr 3^d	To 1 Doz. Almanacks	£12:
	To 24 D°	24:
	To 12 D°	12:
	To 12 D°	12:
1766		
Jan^r 10th	To 1 Ream Paper	3:15
	To 4 Doz. Almanacks	4:0:
May 14	To 5 sheets Deeds & Boands	12:6
" 22	To Cash paid Mr Perkins	5:
July 22	To D° paid Mr Hobby	21:14:
Nov. 8	To 2 sticks sealing Wax	10:
" 13	To Cash paid Doctor Peck	16:
	To Binding 2 Magazines	2:5
	To Printing Recpts	3:
	To Binding 1 plain Books	0:15
Decr 2^d	To 66 Doz. Almanacks 17/	56:2
	To [167] D° D° 17/	[141:19]

On behalf of Mr. CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM was communicated the following letter, from the Rev. Nehemiah Hobart of Newton to the Rev. Nicholas Noyes of Salem, both of whom graduated at Harvard College in 1667:

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NEWTOWN Mar: 29. 1712

Reverend Sir

We that were placed the two last of our Classe at Colledge are the longest livers and onely survivers of seven, which moves in me a peculiar esteem for you, and a willingness to testifye the same on all occasions. I wrote to you some time last winter, and because I knowe you retain that poetical genius, for which you were so remarkable, when a student at Camebridge, I therefore imparted to you some lines, which I composed on the dreadful fire at Boston,[1] and submitted them to your censure: I am not certain whither ever you received them. My prayers are for you, that you may flourish in the house of god when old, and may have many seals of your ministry by the spirit giving efficacy to your labours for the salvation of your heaven, who may be your epistles of commendation, read by all men: And that yours: and congregation may have much comfort in him, who is your colleague,[2] with divine conduct in every step taken toward his settlement. Remember my Respects to Major Sewal & his consort, and all others enquiring after me. I understood my good friend m[r] Emerson [3] your schoolmaster is departed this life. I crave your Prayers for me, [that] I may be kept blameless in the ways of god, my labours may be acceptable and profitable to this assembly, and that the heaviness I am in, by the late removal of my dear wife,[4] may turn to my salvation. This comes to you (as my last was intended, but prevented, and so sent by a less certain conveyhance) by a Neighbour, who lately took a wife from Salem. If you shall please by him to send me your meditations on prophetical Scripture, or any other fruits of your study, or only a short letter, you will oblige,

Yours

NEH: HOBART

[*Addressed*]
To
The Reverend
M[r] Nicholas Noyes
Teacher to the Church
In
Salem

[*Filed*]
M[r] Hobart to M[r] Noyes

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[1] October 2–3, 1711.

[2] Rev. George Curwin (H. C. 1701).

[3] Rev. John Emerson (H. C. 1675), who died March 10, 1712.

[4] Hobart's wife was Sarah, daughter of Edward Jackson: she died February 23, 1712. The letter is owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

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Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT spoke as follows:[1]

Usually there is little in the publication by a large library of a list of a portion of its books to draw the attention of a historical body such as ours. But the Catalogue of the John Adams Library, just issued by the Boston Public Library, calls attention to a collection of literature that is almost in itself a part of the history of this country. In the first place, with the exception of the library of Colonel William Byrd of Virginia, which numbered some 3400 volumes, John Adams had assembled in his long life time, as far as I can ascertain, the largest private collection of books in the English speaking parts of North America down to 1800. In the second place, it is a speaking instance of the intellectual tastes of an educated American gentleman and man of action in the eighteenth century. And, in the third place, on its shelves will be found many works which serve in a measure to explain the mental and political development of one of our conscript fathers, and to show why he preferred to apply, with modifications, to new conditions the wisest lessons derived from earlier forms of government, rather than, like Jefferson, to jettison the whole political cargo, and sail only in ballast for a Utopia which he never could have reached had it not been for the influence of more prudent navigators like Adams, Hamilton, or John Marshall.

Every good library has some nucleus around which gather works of a more general character. In the case of the John Adams Library the nucleus was formed by the assemblage of books necessary to the writing of his Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States. The project must have been long in his mind, for whereas the work was not published in London until 1787 and 1788, there is abundant testimony on the fly-leaves of many volumes that he was picking them up industriously in Paris and at The Hague some years earlier. He went far in his searches for needed material, even drawing into his net some admirable histories of the Italian republics. He was a great gatherer of treaties, diplomatic negotiations, and state papers. John Adams did not believe that in the subtle game of diplomacy, the only essentials are an unbounded zeal for the welfare of mankind, and an infinite indiscretion in mani-

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, xvii. 120–122.

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festing it; but surely and slowly learned his lessons in statecraft. By diligent application to these grim and forbidding old books, and by direct contact in the capitals of Europe with able, selfish, and often unscrupulous masters of their trade John Adams learned the arts and crafts of statesmanship and political negotiation. He laid good educational foundations, which never gave way, in Harvard College, where he made the beginnings of his collection; then he built a rather wonderful structure of the best law books, including the great works on admiralty and sea and commercial law. Many of these books once belonged to Jeremiah Gridley, who befriended the young Adams when he was beginning the practice of his profession. His eventful career abroad, in the diplomatic service of his country, was strengthened by his diligent pursuit of the foundation works in diplomacy and statecraft. Yes, his methods were very slow and old-fashioned, but what he knew and learned will stand like the everlasting hills. These solemn, impressive volumes attest the solidity of his attainments.

When his active political life was over he still collected books, but they were of a less severe cast. Many, throughout his life, were presented to him with the formal inscriptions of the day. Joseph Warren gave him his Massacre Oration of 1774. James Otis gave him a book, and so did Cæsar Rodney, one of the Signers, and Thomas Mifflin, signer of the Address to the King, — all autographed copies. John Marshall inscribed all the five volumes of his Life of Washington to President Adams. There are many such gifts, for during his long life Adams came to know many notable men, who seemed to delight in giving him their books.

Some of his comments on margins are highly diverting. It would be a not unprofitable task to print what he has to say of Mary Godwin's work on the French Revolution, and of William Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Justice. On both of them he pours the vials of his Puritan wrath. Serious as was the cast of his mind, he nevertheless laid in a good store of general literature. For the drama he had some relish, but I recall no work of fiction, except Don Quixote, one edition in French, one in Spanish. Pope, as was natural, was the poet of his heart. But the works of Fielding, Smollett, Richardson or Goldsmith were not to the liking of John Adams.

After more than ninety years of incredible neglect and injury

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from rot, mice, worms, autograph thieves and other enemies of books, the library of our second president is made available to students. The old gentleman, in his eighty-seventh year, presented the best thing he had to give to his own town of Quincy — his precious library — but it was an unappreciated benevolence. The late Charles Francis Adams, in 1883 and 1884, caused a card catalogue to be made when the collection was housed in the Thomas Crane Public Library, after it had lain in disuse for sixty years. Ten years later the Boston Public Library accepted the collection in trust, and now, twenty-three years after the removal to Boston, the Library is made serviceable through this catalogue. It is on the whole a melancholy story, and it may well give rise to the question whether valuable personal collections of literature and art are not more likely to receive the attention and respect they deserve in institutions like colleges or historical societies or perhaps better still in the safe keeping of established families who keep alive the traditions of the passing generations.

No one is to blame, of course, but the public and great public institutions are insensitive to certain values. I am glad, however, that the libraries of the first two presidents of the country are securely held in this city. They will at least be respected for all time, however little they may be used.

In the midst of all the present welter of books, many of them of merely passing value or interest, and many more of no value whatever, it ought to be a satisfaction to think of these dignified survivals of an epoch-making past, silently protesting, by the sheer permanence of their reputation, against the merely ephemeral in literature.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

Mr. Swift has spoken of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum. It does not seem to be generally known that the same library owns a large number of books and pamphlets that formerly belonged to John Adams and to John Quincy Adams. Between the years 1815 and 1821, the former gave about thirty volumes, mostly pamphlets, of a miscellaneous character. The extraordinary value of the gifts, however, lies in the character of the volumes which once belonged to the younger Adams. In January, 1849, the committee

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on the Library made a report from which the following is an extract: "The Hon. Charles Francis Adams has recently presented the numerous and valuable pamphlets accumulated by his father, the late John Quincy Adams, to the number of between six and seven thousand, which go to enrich a department in which the Athenæum is perhaps unrivalled by any other Library in the country." [1] Some of these contain manuscript notes, an interesting example being the following on a fly-leaf at the end of one of three copies of The Group, published at Boston in 1775:

> Quincy August 17. 1814. The 'Group,' to my certain Knowledge, was written by Mrs Mercy Warren of Plymouth. So certifies
>
> JOHN ADAMS.

However it may be with the John Adams Library, Mr. Swift need have no fear in regard to the neglect of the Washington Collection and the John Quincy Adams pamphlets, for they are constantly being consulted by historical students.

[1] Quincy, History of the Boston Athenaeum, p. 190.

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MARCH MEETING, 1917

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, on Thursday, 22 March, 1917, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a paper on A Generation of Expansion and Inflation in Massachusetts History, 1713–1741, speaking in substance as follows:

This was the first period of comparative peace that the Colony and Province had enjoyed since the outbreak of Philip's War in 1675. In settlement, the intervening years had hardly sufficed to make up the ground lost by Indian frontier attacks. Only one new township was started between 1692 and 1711; as compared with 78 in the next 30 years. In this period, however, settlement was extended in a very different way from the old colonial method. New townships, instead of being granted to actual settlers, were given to groups of land speculators, sometimes as a reward for services in the French and Indian wars. Very few of the original grantees or proprietors ever used the land themselves. It was their custom to give away a few lots to bona fide settlers, in order to comply with the terms of the grant, but to hold the rest for sale when the value had risen. In the meantime, the laws of the Province exempted it from taxation. This land inflation was brought to a close by the Massachusetts-New Hampshire boundary decision in 1740. The Bay Province had previously claimed everything west and south of the Merrimac, while New Hampshire claimed a line running due west of the Merrimac's mouth as its southern boundary. The Privy Council, how-

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ever, finding Massachusetts more troublesome than New Hampshire, gave the latter her present southern boundary, which was much more than she claimed. This left the majority of the new townships in New Hampshire territory. At about the same time the Maine-New Hampshire, the Massachusetts-Rhode Island, and the Massachusetts-Connecticut boundaries were settled, equally to the disadvantage of the Bay Province.

The Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, also brought an expansion of those branches of industry and commerce for which Massachusetts was already famous. The molasses trade with the French West Indies was thrown open, and the distillation of rum began on a large scale. Shortly after, the negro population of West Africa began to develop a thirst for New England rum in preference to French brandy. This opened the way for Massachusetts capitalists to enter the unsavory slave trade. Furthermore, the Treaty of Utrecht, by eliminating the French from Acadia, left the New England fisheries without serious rivals, and the exports of dried fish to the West Indies and the Mediterranean greatly increased. Off-shore whaling was another maritime development of the period. Nantucket fitted out her first sea-going whaler in 1715, and within a generation Yankee whalers were to be found in every part of the world. The first schooner was launched in 1713, and shipbuilding increased by leaps and bounds. We have just celebrated the bi-centenary of Boston Light, and marine insurance began in 1724.

The trade and commerce of Massachusetts was, however, much hampered by her dependence on paper money. The Province had perforce adopted paper currency during the wars, and now found it difficult to return to specie payments. "Old tenor," "middle tenor," and "new tenor" followed in bewildering succession. A private bank was formed in 1739 to float notes on mortgage security, and much of the bitter provincial politics of the period is explained by the antagonism of the Land Bank to the sound-money men. An act of parliament declared it illegal, and threw the financial system of the Province into such confusion that a small panic ensued. King George's War, which was shortly afterwards declared, gave the finishing touch to this period of expansion and inflation.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following —

NOTES ON EARLY AUTOPSIES AND ANATOMICAL LECTURES

When, on November 1, 1758, Dr. Nathaniel Ames wrote to his son Nathaniel, then a sophomore at Harvard, asking for a meeting and saying that he "would bring those Instruments in Order to be fixed up for your Use," [1] there is no means of ascertaining with certainty whether the instruments were astronomical, mathematical, or surgical. Astronomy and mathematics had from the beginning been included in the college curriculum, and that Ames pursued these studies is shown by some entries in his Diary:

1760 Nov. 17 finish'd Dialling enter'd Trigonometry.
1760 Dec. 12 Calculated on Eclipse with Flag.
1761 Feb. 16 begun to recite Wats's Astronomy.[2]

Yet, though there were no regular medical courses at Harvard before 1782, it is by no means impossible that Ames was pursuing studies under some Cambridge physician or surgeon, though if such was the case it is one of the earliest instances of the sort that has been recorded.

However that may have been, some notes on autopsies and anatomical studies and lectures in the early days will not be out of place. As is of course well known, there was at least one physician — Samuel Fuller — among the Mayflower passengers; and even before the sailing of Winthrop, the Massachusetts Bay Company had in 1629 taken care that physicians should be engaged.[3] In a letter to the Rev. Thomas Shepard, dated Roxbury, September 24, 1647, the Apostle Eliot, writing about the Indians, said:

[1] P. 261, above.

[2] Dedham Historical Register, i. 113, 114.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 29, 30, 49, 396: cf. i. 197. Among those "entertained" by the company in 1629 was Lambert Wilson, who was to "serve this Companie and the other planters that liue in the plantac̄on for 3 yeares, and in that time apply himselfe to cure not only of such as came from hence for the gen̄all and p̄ticuler accompts, but also for the Indian as from tyme to tyme hee shalbe directed," and who was also "to educate & instruct in his art one or more youths, such as yo^{w} and the said councell shall appoint, that may bee helpfull to him, and, if occasion serve, succeed him in the plantac̄on." Savage says of Wilson: "my doubt is strong, whether he continued half the time."

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There is another great question that hath been severall times propounded, and much sticks with such as begin to pray, namely, *If they leave off* Powwawing, *and pray to God, what shall they do when they are sick*? for they have no skill in physick, though some of them understand the vertues of sundry things, yet the state of mans body, and skill to apply them they have not: but all the refuge they have and relie upon in time of sicknesse is their *Powwaws*, who by antick, foolish and irrationall conceits delude the poore people; so that it is a very needfull thing to informe them in the use of Physick, and a most effectuall meanes to take them off from their *Powwawing*. Some of the wiser sort I have stirred up to get this skill; I have shewed them the anatomy of mans body, and some general principles of Physick, which is very acceptable to them, but they are so extreamely ignorant, that these things must rather be taught by sight, sense, and experience then by precepts, and rules of art; and therefore I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a singular good work, if the Lord would stirre up the hearts of some or other of his people in England to give some maintenance toward some Schoole or Collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be Anatomies and other instructions that way, where there might be some recompence given to any that should bring any vegetable or other thing that is vertuous in the way of Physick; by this means we should soon have all these things which they know, and others of our Countreymen that are skilfull that way, and now their skill lies buried for want of incouragement, would be a searching and trying to find out the vertues of things in this countrey, which doubtlesse are many, and would not a little conduce to the benefit of the people of this Countrey, and it may bee of our native Countrey also; by this meanes wee should traine up these poore *Indians* in that skill which would confound and root out their *Powwaws*, and then would they be farre more easily inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God, whose gift Physick is, and whose blessing must make it effectuall.

There is also another reason which moves my thought and desires this way, namely that our young Students in Physick may be trained up better then yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now.[1]

---

[1] In Shepard's Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New-England, London, 1648, pp. 25–26.

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Though this passage is well known, having been printed in 1648[1] and again in 1836,[2] yet it is given here in full because the meaning of the word "anatomy" has been misunderstood. Thus Dr. Samuel A. Green, quoting the last sentence, remarks:

> An "anatomy" is the old name for a skeleton, and Mr. Firmin may be considered, in point of time, the first medical lecturer in the country. His instruction must have been crude, and comprised little more than informal talks about the dry bones before him; but even this might be a great help to the learners.[3]

Dr. Green, however, overlooked the fact that in the seventeenth century the word "anatomy" had other meanings besides that of a skeleton. Indeed, the Oxford English Dictionary gives no fewer than eleven definitions of the word, though for our purpose it is necessary to quote four only:

> 1. The artificial separation of the different parts of a human body or animal (or more generally of any organized body), in order to discover their position, structure, and economy; dissection.
>
> 2. a. A body (or part of one) anatomized or dissected, so as to show the position and structure of the organs. Hence b. A body or "subject" for dissection. *Obsolete.*
>
> 3. A model of the body, showing the parts discovered in dissection.
>
> 4. *pop.* A skeleton.

Eliot's wish that there might be "some Schoole or Collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be *Anatomies* and other instructions," his assertion that the young medical students here "are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy *made*," and his specific statement that "we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. Giles Firmin did *make* and read upon very well," show conclusively that Firmin lectured on a fresh dissection of a cadaver in all its parts, soft and hard.

[1] See the previous note.

[2] 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 57.

[3] Memorial History of Boston (1881), iv. 530. In 1884 Dr. Green repeated his statement, with slight variations in language; and further said: "It is very likely that Cambridge was the place where Giles Firmin had 'read upon' or lectured on his skeleton" (2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 46, 47). In 1901 Dr. Francis R. Packard said: "A skeleton was formerly called an anatomy, hence it would appear that demonstrations of the bones were made by Firmin" (History of Medicine in the United States, p. 34).

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Perhaps it was due to Eliot's letter that on October 27, 1647, the General Court expressed itself as follows:

Lastly, we conceive it very necessary y^t^ such as studies phisick or chirurgery may have liberty to reade anotomy, & to anotomize once in foure yeares some malefato^r^, in case there be such as the Courte shall alow of.[1]

Writing about 1651, Edward Johnson, describing Harvard College, said that "some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick;" [2] and perhaps this is an allusion to Firmin's lectures.

On March 11, 1663, Bray Rossiter was allowed twenty pounds "in reference to openinge Kellies child and his paynes" in visiting and administering to two officials of Connecticut.[3] On March 27, 1667, "Mr John Alcock Physician, dyed" at Roxbury, Massachusetts. "His liver was dryed up & became schirrous." [4] It is not quite certain whether, in the former case, the "opening" of the child was before or after death; nor, in the latter case, whether an autopsy was made. However that may have been, autopsies were performed on the body of John Bridge, who died at Roxbury August 20, 1674; [5] and on the body of Jacob Goodale, upon whom an inquest was held at Salem June 1, 1676.[6] On September 22, 1676, Judge Sewall, with other persons, "Spent the day from 9 in the M. . . . dissecting the

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 201.

[2] Wonder-working Providence, p. 165.

[3] Connecticut Colonial Records, i. 396. Dr. Green printed two editions of his Centennial Address, one at Groton, the other at Boston, which differ in pagination and slightly in text, and to the Boston edition was added an Appendix (pp. 129–131) in which the 1663 case is mentioned.

[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vi. 205.

[5] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vi. 181. In his Account of Two Voyages to New-England, 1674, John Josselyn said: "There was in the Countrey not long since . . . a young maid that was troubled with a sore pricking at her heart, . . . it so fell out that the maid dyed; her friends desirous to discover the cause of the distemper of her heart, had her open'd, and found two crooked bones growing upon the top of the heart" (p. 186), but did not state when or where this autopsy was held. Josselyn added: "At *Cape-Porpus* lived an honest poor planter of middle-age, . . . at last he dyed in *Anno* 1668 as I think, or thereabouts. Some Chirurgeons there were that proffered to open him, but his wife would not assent to it, and so his disease was hidden in the Grave."

[6] S. A. Green, Centennial Address (Groton, 1881), pp. 49–50. This autopsy was made by Zerobabel Endecott. Cf. G. F. Dow, preface to Endecott's Synopsis Medicinae, or A Compendium of Galenical and Chymical Physick (Essex Tracts, 1914), p. 5.

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middlemost of the Indian executed the day before."[1] At an inquest held at Salem on May 2, 1678, was "searcht the Body of one called Edward Bodye."[2] The next was recorded by Cotton Mather under date of June 11, 1683:

The *first* of my Father's Children that have Dyed and the *Ninth* of his Children, my little Sister *Katharine*, dyed this Day.

When shee was opened, it was found, that the right Lobe of her Lungs was utterly wasted and not any thing but about three Quarters of a Pint of Quittor, in the room thereof.

Shee was not a year old; and had lain sick, for four or five months.[3]

The next was on the body of Governor Sloughter of New York, who died July 23, 1691, as appears from a letter to William Blathwayt dated August 6th:

We must acquaint you that on the 23 Instant [error for Ultimo] his Excellency Coll: Sloughter our Govern^r^ departed this life in a very suddain manner, whose body we caused to be opened by the Phisetians and Chururgeans on the place; a copy of whose report to us upon their oaths we have herewith sent you, by which you will see their opinions concerning the cause of his death.[4]

The Boston News Letter of January 22, 1705, stated that "On *Wednesday* morning the 17th Instant, dyed *Elizabeth Whetlie*, Single Woman, for want of help, being big with Child, who would not own she was with Child, was afterwards opened, and found to be so."[5]

A very interesting proposal is found in a pamphlet entitled, "A Projection For Erecting a Bank of Credit In Boston, New-England. Founded on Land Security. Printed in the Year 1714." It is in part as follows:

19. And for a further benefit to the Publick, when there shall be Emitted and Continued at Interest *One Hundred and Fifty Thousand*

[1] Diary, i. 21.

[2] S. A. Green, Centennial Address (Groton), p. 50. The extracts thus far quoted are well known, all having been noted by Dr. Green; those which follow are mostly new.

[3] Diary, i. 65. In April, 1693, the body of Cotton Mather's son Joseph, who lived only four days, was "opened" (i. 163–164). For these references I am indebted to Mr. John H. Edmonds.

[4] New York Colonial Documents, iii. 794. "A *post mortem* examination of the body was ordered" on the day of his death (Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689–1692, p. 510: cf. pp. 511, 513, 520).

[5] P. 2/2. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. John H. Edmonds.

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Pounds, We give out of the Neet Profits of this Partnership, the Sums following, *Viz.* . . .

Two Hundred Pounds per Annum, *to be paid to the Treasurer of* Harvard *Colledge in* Cambridge, *for the Uses following*, Viz. . .

Forty Pounds per Annum, *to a Professor of Physick and Anatomy, Residing there, provided he Read a Lecture once a month, on that Subject.*[1]

In a letter dated July 10, 1716, Cotton Mather mentioned the case of "a Good man, who lived not far from me, (nam'd Mr *Call*)," who was advised by the surgeons to be cut for the stone, but refused and finally died. "A post mortem examination showed that there was no stone, but that 'his Bladder was grown entirely schirrous.'"[2]

In a letter to William Penn dated May 1, 1717, James Logan, referring to Dr. Cadwallader Colden, said:

All I know of that bill is only this. He came to me one day to desire my opinion of a proposal to get an act of Assembly for an allowance to him as physician for the poor of this place. I told him I thought very well of the thing, but doubted whether it could be brought to bear in the House. Not long after R. Hill showed me a bill for this purpose, put in his hands by the Governor, with the two further provisions in it, which were, that a public physical lecture should be held in Philadelphia, to the support of which every unmarried man about twenty-one years, should pay six shillings, eight-pence, or an English crown yearly, and that the corpses of all persons whatever that died here should be visited by an appointed physician, who should receive for his trouble three shillings and four-pence. These things I owned very commendable, but doubted our Assembly would never go into them, that of the lectures especially.[3]

Logan's prognostications proved correct.

Another interesting extract is the following from the Weekly Rehearsal of May 1, 1732:

Barbados, April 1. We hear that an ingenious young Gentleman is lately arriv'd on this Island, who designs to go thro' a Course of Anatomy very speedily. Tis said some of the greatest and learnedst Gentlemen have, or design to subscribe to so useful an undertaking (p. 4/1).

[1] Colonial Currency Reprints (Prince Society), i. 329, 330.

[2] G. L. Kittredge, Cotton Mather's Scientific Communications to the Royal Society (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, 1916, xxvi. 40–41). For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Kittredge.

[3] Quoted in Dr. Packard's History of Medicine in the United States, 1901, pp. 164–165.

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If this unknown physician carried his intention into effect, his was the second course of lectures on anatomy given in the western hemisphere, though at an interval of nearly a century after the first and in an unexpected place.

On February 20, 1733, took place the trial of "*Julian*, an Indian Man, who was indicted at the said Court, for the Murder of Mr. *John Rogers*, of *Pembrook*, on *Sept.* 12 last, by stabing him with a Jack-Knife in the Breast at *Braintry*;"[1] Julian was found guilty, was condemned to be hanged, and was executed on March 22. The Boston News Letter of March 30 said:

> The Body of *Julian* the Indian Man, who was Executed here last Week, having been granted to several young Students in Physick, Surgery, *&c.* at their Request; The same has for several Days past been dissecting in their presence, in a most accurate manner; and 'tis hoped their critical Inspection, will prove of singular Advantage. The Bones are preserv'd, in order to be fram'd into a Skeleton (p. 2/2).[2]

The following extract is taken from the Boston News Letter of Thursday, March 28, 1734:

> On Thursday last *John Stoicks* was Executed at *Cambridge* in the County of Middlesex, for Burglary; he had some time before renounced the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, in which he had been Educated in; and by the Blessing of God on the Means used with him, 'tis thought he died a true Penitent and sincere Christian. His Body is now dissecting in a very curious manner by some skilful Surgeons in this Town (p. 2/1).

The New England Weekly Journal of Tuesday, January 20, 1736, contained this notice:

> Last Saturday Evening, a Negro Woman belonging to Mrs. *Ellis* of this Town, being abroad in the Street, was seized with a violent Fit of

[1] Boston News Letter, February 22, 1733, p. 2/1. Cf. March 1, p. 2/1; March 8, p. 2/1; March 22, p. 2/1.

[2] Dr. Packard says that in 1750 "a criminal named Hermanus Carroll was executed for murder in New York City, and his body was dissected by Dr. John Bard and Dr. Peter Middleton for the instruction of the young men then engaged in the study of medicine. 'This is the first essay made in the colonies for the purpose of acquiring medical knowledge by dissection, of which we have any record'" (History of Medicine in the United States, p. 165). From whom this passage is quoted is not stated, but the extracts given in our text show that earlier dissections were made.

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Coughing, and brought up a large quantity of Blood, and dy'd in a few minutes after. She has been since opened, and was found far gone in Consumption (p. 2/2).

The following extract is taken from the New England Weekly Journal of February 10, 1736:

Dedham, Feb. 2. 1735, 6.

Died here of a *Pulmonary Pthisis, Margaret Fisher,* Ætat. 26. amongst her other good Qualities, *an exemplary publick Spirit and Benevolence to Mankind,* deserves to be recorded. When a dying, she earnestly desired, that her *Viscera* might be *Anatomically inspected,* for the Benefit of those, who may be afflicted with the like Disorders (p. 2/1).

Then follows a detailed account of the results of the autopsy. Under the heading "For the Speculation of *Anatomically curious,* the following Case is inserted," the same paper also stated that "The same Day was inspected the *Corps* of Mr. *Lewis,* Æt. 45," and again the details are given.[1]

In a letter dated February 17, 1736, Dr. William Douglass said that "we have lately in Boston formed a medical society," that "we design from time to time to publish some pieces," and that "there is now ready for the press number one" of a work to be entitled Medical Memoirs. This was to contain five essays, the fourth being "The anatomical inspection of a spina vertosa in the vertebræ of the loins in a young man."[2] This work apparently never saw the light, but Douglass dedicated "To a Medical Society in Boston" his Practical History of A New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever, etc., published in the same year; and in this he remarked: "We have *Anatomically* inspected Persons who died of it" (p. 14).

Another proposal to establish some sort of medical lectureship in this part of the world was made in 1739, as appears from an entry in the Massachusetts House Journal under date of July 7:

Information being given to the House by the Member from Worcester,[3] *that a certain Gentleman of the Town of* Boston, [*was*] *well disposed for the*

[1] These two references came to me from our late associate Mr. Gay.

[2] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 189. This Medical Society in Boston was referred to in the Boston News Letter of January 5, 1738 (not 1737, as misprinted), and of November 13, 1741, after which allusions to it have not been found.

[3] John Chandler (*d* 1762).

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Encouragement and Support of a Professor of Physick *within this Province, and for that good Purpose would chearfully contribute out of his own Estate a considerable Sum of Money, provided this Court will join therein in making a Grant of Lands, or otherwise establish a good Fund for the valuable Ends aforesaid; and the same being considered:*

Ordered, That the members of *Boston, Charlstown, Roxbury,* and *Chelsea,* be a Committee to treat with the said Gentleman, hear him on his Proposals, and report their Opinion of what may be proper to be done for the encouragement of so good a Scheme.[1]

Nothing further is heard of this scheme, and the name of its promoter is unknown, though Dr. Green surmises, but without adducing evidence, that he was Dr. Douglass.[2]

In 1746 William Davis, a Boston physician, died, and the inventory of his estate contains these items:

Chirurgical Instrum^{ts} of all Sorts	£120
3 Glass Cases of Veins & Anat:	50[3]

On September 5, 1750, the Corporation of Harvard College passed the following votes:

6. That the Thanks of the Corporation be given to Mr William Vassal[4] of Boston M.A. for a present to ye College of 12 several Tables of the humane Bones & Muscles finely grav'd & as finely fram'd.

7. That the Thanks of the Corporation be given to Willm Davis[5] of Boston M.A. for a present to the College of humane veins & Arteries fill'd wth Wax.

[1] P. 101.

[2] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 45–46. Attention was first called to the passage by George H. Moore, who spoke of the unnamed and unknown Bostonian as "the first promoter of medical education in America" (1 ibid. xix. 249–250).

[3] Suffolk Probate Records, xl. 331–332. The inventory, as here recorded (the original being missing), clearly reads as printed in the text; but it seems likely that "Anat:" is an error for "Art:" — that is, "arteries." See text, under 1750.

[4] H. C. 1733.

[5] H. C. 1745. William Davis, the physician, and Hannah Winslow were married January 26, 1715 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxviii. 57); a son William was born March 17, 1726 (xxiv. 175); and letters of administration were granted to Hannah Davis, widow, on March 28, 1746 (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 8489). The Faculty Records (i. 165) state that the William Davis who graduated in 1745 was born December 25, 1727, and that his residence at entrance was Boston. Presumably the son of the physician and the Harvard graduate were one and the same, the dates given in the Faculty Records being sometimes those of baptism.

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8. That the Thanks of the Corporation be given to Mr Francis Archibald [1] of Boston Merch[t] for his Present of a Skeleton to the College.[2]

Dr. William Douglass died October 21, 1752, and the inventory of his estate taken August 13, 1753, included —

a Skeleton, Sundry Medicines, Surgeon's Instrum[ts], Vials & Bottles . . . £10 6 10[3]

There is no evidence that medical lectures were again delivered in this country until more than a century after Giles Firmin "made his anatomy." The credit is usually given to Dr. Thomas Cadwalader of Philadelphia, but the exact date of his lectures appears not to be known, the years 1750, 1751, and 1752 being variously given.[4] Equally wanting in exactness are the dates of the lectures

[1] Francis Archibald, a Boston physician, and Huldah Rainsford were married November 18, 1714; a son Edward (H. C. 1736) was born March 24, 1716; a son Francis was born February 5, 1724; and on October 25, 1746, letters of administration were granted to Huldah Archibald, widow, and Francis Archibald, merchant. (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 111, 163, xxviii. 49; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 8589). Hence the donor of the skeleton doubtless inherited it from his father. The name is variously spelled Archbald, Archbold, and Archibald: I follow the form given in the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue.

[2] College Book, iv. 315–316.

[3] Suffolk Probate Records, xlviii. 326.

[4] Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, ii. 1581, 1582; J. J. Levick, Early Physicians of Philadelphia (1886), p. 11 note; F. R. Packard, History of Medicine in the United States, p. 165. Apparently Philadelphians have come to believe this statement by dint of repeating it, for I have been unable to find any evidence in its support. That at least one medical lecture was delivered in 1750 is proved by the following advertisement which appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of November 29, p. 2/2:

Next Week will be published,

A DISCOURSE on the Preparation of the Body for the SMALL-POX: And the Manner of receiving the *Infection*. As it was delivered in the publick Hall of the *Academy*, before the *Trustees*, and others, on *Wednesday*, the 21st of *November*, 1750.

By *ADAM THOMSON*, Physician in *Philadelphia*. . . .

The Philadelphia Academy, of whose trustees Franklin was then president, is the present University of Pennsylvania. Cf. the same paper, December 18 (presumably a misprint for 20), p. 2/1–2.

Dr. R. F. Stone says that Cadwalader's Iliac Passion, or Colica Pictonum, "was written in 1743, and was one of the first publications on a medical subject in America. He is said, however, to have written a paper on 'Inoculation Variola' (1730) which antedates this and all other contributions to American medical literature" (Biography of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons,

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given by Dr. William Hunter, a Scotchman who died at Newport in 1777. Dr. James Thacher said:

He came to Rhode-Island somewhere about the year 1752, gave lectures on anatomy, on the history of anatomy, and comparative anatomy, at Newport, in the years 1754, 5 and 6, which were the first lectures given on the science in New-England, if not in America. Advertisements of these lectures may be seen in the Boston papers of that day.[1]

The exact date of one of Dr. Hunter's courses — though there may have been earlier ones — is furnished by the following advertisement:

At *Rhode Island*,

On Monday the 3d of *February* next, will begin

An Anatomical Exposition

of the Structure of the *human Body*, to which will be added, a brief Explanation of the Principles of the Animal Œconomy; the whole interspersed with occasional Remarks and practical Observations, and to conclude with a Course of

Chirurgical Operations,

with the Application of the Bandages.

Any Gentlemen who intend to favour me with their Company, may communicate it by Letter, or personally with me here, and receive any farther Information from

Their humble Servant,

WILLIAM HUNTER.[2]

Newport, 3d Jan. 1755.

Professor Guernsey Jones says that "The Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum has an early sketch-book by Copley containing nine anatomical studies, in black and red crayons, signed and dated 1756. They are done with great care and the

pp. 71–72). It is hardly necessary to say that this statement is quite erroneous, as there had been many medical publications before 1730, the earliest known being the Rev. Thomas Thacher's A Brief Rule To guide the Common-People of New-England How to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks, or Measels, a broadside printed at Boston in 1678. It is dated January 21, 1678.

[1] American Medical Biography (1828), i. 304–305.

[2] Boston Evening Post, January 20, 1755, p. 2/2; January 27, p. 3/2; February 3, p. 2/2.

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muscles are named."[1] Copley was then only nineteen years of age, and must have obtained his knowledge of anatomy in Boston.

When Harvard Hall was burned in January, 1764, among the losses enumerated were —

A collection of the most approved medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James of the island of Jamaica; to which Dr. Mead and other Gentlemen have made very considerable additions: Also anatomical cuts and two compleat skeletons of different sexes. This collection would have been very serviceable to a Professor of Physic and Anatomy, when the revenues of the College should have been sufficient to subsist a gentleman in this character.[2]

A Boston paper in 1770 printed this notice:

HINGHAM, December 12. 1770.

ON the 9th Instant died here in the 62d Year of his Age, and was this Day decently interred Dr. EZEKIEL HERSEY. He was educated at Harvard-College, apply'd himself to the study of Physic and Surgery; in the practice of which he continued almost Forty Years. . . . As a Testimony of his just Regard for the noble Faculty of Medicks, and desire to promote the Science, in which [he] excell'd, and of his concern for the health and happiness of his Country, in all future Generations, He gave in his last Will a Thousand Pounds, Lawful Money, toward the support of a Professor of Anatomy and Physick in Harvard-College. — This first Example of a public Spirit for such a purpose, may provoke to Emulation, so as that the laudable design may be in time compleated.[3]

Thus at last, a century and a half after the permanent settlement of Massachusetts, provision was made for a medical professorship, though more than a decade was yet to elapse before the terms of Dr. Hersey's will were carried into effect.

Writing in 1813, Dr. Josiah Bartlett said:

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[1] Copley-Pelham Letters, p. 305 note.

[2] Boston Evening Post, January 30, 1764, p. 2/2.

[3] Boston News Letter, December 20, 1770, p. 3/2. Hersey graduated in 1728. The bequest was received on November 9, 1772, and the vote of the Corporation of that date was printed in the Boston News Letter of November 12, 1772, p. 2/3; where it is also stated: "We are informed likewise, that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor [Andrew Oliver] hath presented to HARVARD-COLLEGE a Number of curious Anatomical Preparations, from London, in Aid to the beforementioned laudable Design."

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An association of under graduates, denominated the anatomical society, existed at the university in 1771, and was instituted previous to that time. They held private meetings for a discussion of medical and physiological questions, and were in possession of a skeleton; but their demonstrations were confined to the dissection of appropriate animals, as the examination of a human body was then an extraordinary occurrence with our most inquisitive anatomists.[1]

Exact information about this undergraduate society is difficult to obtain. Writing two years later, Dr. Bartlett said that Dr. John Warren of the class of 1771 entered College at fourteen and "graduated at the usual period; he then commenced the study of medicine with his brother,"[2] Dr. Joseph Warren. On the other hand, Dr. James Jackson stated in the same year (1815) that "it is probable" that John Warren "had already made choice of his profession; for some of his contemporaries recollect with great pleasure that he took the lead in a College-club established for the study of anatomy."[3] And Dr. Edward Warren, a son of Dr. John Warren, says that the latter "conceived a strong passion for the study of Anatomy, and by his zealous exertions a club was formed in college for its pursuit. Whether or not this was the Sp——r Club, of which we shall find Dr. Eustis speaking hereafter, I cannot say."[4] Finally, Dr. Edward Warren quotes this passage, written by his father "in an account of the origin of the Medical School:"

In some of the more populous towns, students were sometimes indulged with the privilege of examining the bodies of those who had died from any extraordinary diseases; and in a few instances, associations were formed for pursuing the business of dissection, where opportunities offered, from casualties or from public executions, for doing it in decency and safety. A private society had existed in the university under the denomination of the Anatomical Society, in which brutes were dissected, and demonstrations on the bones of the human skeleton were delivered by the members.[5]

[1] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 109–110. There were at that time several physicians named Josiah Bartlett. A sketch of this one (born 1759, died 1820) will be found in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 323–330.

[2] Oration occasioned by the Death of John Warren, M.D. (1815), p. 5.

[3] Eulogy of the Character of John Warren, M.D. (1815), p. 9.

[4] E. Warren, Life of John Warren, M.D. (1874), p. 12.

[5] Ibid. pp. 226–227.

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This, no doubt, is the authority for Dr. Bartlett's statement in 1813; but I have been unable to ascertain when Dr. John Warren's "account of the origin of the Medical School" was written.

Dr. Edward Warren's query as to whether this Anatomical Society was identical with the Sp——r Club raises an interesting question. In 1773 John Warren went to Salem, and on November 17th of that year Dr. William Eustis, who graduated at Harvard in 1772, wrote to him:

> These are to congratulate you on the pleasing smile which Madam Fortune has been pleased to cast upon you. . . . I beg you would steal one hour from the Salemites, to give us a full detail of your circumstances, . . . The Sp——rs often speak of the loss of their last member, with sorrow which can only be felt among themselves. Good heavens! to reflect on the continued bars we are meeting in our pursuits.[1]

In a letter to Warren dated June 5, 1775, Dr. Jonathan Norwood, a classmate, said: "I need not assure you how great satisfaction it would give me to accompany you to the army, where possibly a Sp——r Club might again exert itself for the benefit of mankind."[2] A third letter is thus introduced by Dr. Edward Warren:

> My father was the principal agent in getting up the Anatomical society in college; and he was the principal lecturer. That the members of the society were pretty active, and that their zeal was too great to confine themselves always to comparative anatomy, may be inferred from the allusions to the Sp——r Club, in the early part of this volume. . . . I give here a letter from Dr. Eustis which is without date, but seems to have been written previous to the year 1775, while there was still a royal governor of Massachusetts, and before the alleged treason of Dr. Church.[3]

Then follows a longish letter, in part as follows:

> FRIDAY MORNING, *Boston.*
>
> This may serve to inform you, that as soon as the body of Levi Ames was pronounced dead by Dr. Jeffries, it was delivered by the Sheriff to a person who carried it in a cart to the water side, where it was received into a boat filled with about twelve of Stillman's crew, who rowed it over to Dorchester Point.

[1] E. Warren, Life of John Warren, M.D. (1874), pp. 25, 26.
[2] Ibid. p. 23.
[3] Ibid. p. 227.

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It seems Stillman was very great with Ames, upon whose signifying his desire to be kept from the doctors, Stillman promised that he would get his people to secure him.

Our determination to have him was fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians. We had heard it surmised that he was to be taken from the gallows in a boat, and when we saw him carried to the water, we concluded it was a deep laid scheme in Jeffries.

I'm before my story. You must know that Jeffries (as we heard) had applied to the Governor for a warrant to have this body. The Governor told him if he had come a quarter of an hour sooner, he would have given it, but he had just given one to Ames' friends, alias Stillman's gang. So it seems there was a scheme with Lloyd, Jeffries, Clark, etc., to have him, and we imagined, as we knew they were after him, they might spread these reports to baffle us.

However, when we saw the Stillmanites, we were satisfied Jeffries had no hand in it. When we saw the boat land at Dorchester Point, we had a consultation, and Norwood, David, One Allen and myself, took chaise and rode round to the Point, Spunker's like, but the many obstacles we had to encounter made it eleven o'clock before we reached the Point, where we searched and searched, and rid, hunted, and waded; but alas, in vain! There was no corpse to be found. . . . We have a ——— from another place, so Church shan't be disappointed. . . .

P. S. . . . By the way, we have since heard that Stillman's gang rowed him back from the Point up to the town, and after laying him out in mode and figure, buried him — God knows where! Clark & Co. went to the Point to look for him, but were disappointed as well as we.[1]

The exact date of this letter, which Dr. Edward Warren could not establish, can be determined by internal evidence. In the Boston News Letter of Thursday, October 21, 1773, was advertised "The Confession and Dying Words of Levi Ames, to be executed this Day for Burglary, . . . may be had at the Shop opposite the New Court-House in Queen-Street, Price 6 Coppers."[2] Hence the letter

[1] E. Warren, Life of John Warren, M.D. (1874), pp. 228–229. [The persons mentioned in this letter were: Dr. Benjamin Church (H. C. 1754); Dr. John Clarke (H. C. 1772); Dr. John Jeffries (H. C. 1763); Dr. James Lloyd (1728–1810); Dr. Jonathan Norwood (H. C. 1771); Rev. Samuel Stillman (1738–1807); Dr. David Townsend (H. C. 1770).

[2] P. 2/3. On the same day John Rowe wrote: "Levi Ames was hanged this afternoon — many Thousand Spectators attended the Execution" (Letters and Diary, p. 252). Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xv. 343; Memorial History of Boston, ii. 486–487.

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was written October 22, 1773. Several years ago Mr. Gay spoke to me about a certain Thomas Pound, and on my asking whether he was identical with Captain Thomas Pound of the Royal Navy, replied in his dry, laconic way: "Yes. Though condemned to be hanged as a pirate in Boston, he managed to elude the authorities, and thus escaped being preached at by Cotton Mather. What luck!" Levi Ames was hanged too late to suffer that fate, but he was preached at by Cotton Mather's son the Rev. Samuel Mather,[1] by the Rev. Andrew Eliot,[2] and by the Rev. Samuel Stillman,[3] the last of whom preached two sermons — one before and one after the execution. But what a curious picture of the times this letter presents — three distinct parties struggling for the possession of Ames's body: Doctors Jeffries, Lloyd, and Clark; the young medical students Eustis, Norwood, Townsend, with "one Allen;" and the Rev. Mr. Stillman's "gang," who succeeded by a subterfuge in obtaining a decent burial for the criminal's remains. One wonders whether Dr. Eustis, when he became Governor of the Commonwealth, recalled his early and unsuccessful attempt at body-snatching.

"One Allen," remarks Dr. Edward Warren, "seems to be in the enjoyment of a nickname. Whether it was the Rev. Ebenezer Allen, a classmate of my father or not, I cannot say." It hardly seems probable that a youth who presumably was then pursuing his theological studies would be engaged in such an expedition. Further, I think that Dr. Edward Warren misses the point. As I understand it, "Spunker" is not a nickname for Allen, but reveals the name of the Sp——r Club. As to whether the Anatomical Society and the Sp——r Club were identical, the evidence at hand is too meagre for a definite conclusion; but if Eustis in his letter of November 17, 1773, when he spoke of John Warren's going to Salem as "the loss of

[1] "Christ sent to heal the Broken Hearted. A Sermon, Preached at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, On October 21st. 1773. When Levi Ames . . . Was present to hear the Discourse" (1773).

[2] "Christ's Promise to the penitent Thief. A Sermon Preached the Lord's-Day before the Execution of Levi Ames, . . . N.B. This discourse was delivered at the desire of the Prisoner, who was present when it was delivered" (1773).

[3] "Two Sermons: The First . . . Delivered the Lords-Day before the Execution of Levi Ames. . . . ☞ This Discourse was preached at the Desire of the Criminal, who also attended on the Occasion. The Second . . . Preached the Lords-Day after his Execution" (1773).

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their last member," meant the member most recently elected to the club, then the Sp——r Club could hardly have been an undergraduates' association.[1]

It was Dr. John Warren who gave the first medical lectures in Massachusetts, but as the exact dates of these are uncertain the following advertisements are submitted:

A Course of Lectures will be delivered this Winter, upon the several Branches of Physick, for the Improvement of all such as are desirous of obtaining medical Knowledge: Those who propose attending, are requested to make Application as soon as possible, as the Course will commence in a few days.

BOSTON, January 1, 1781.[2] JOHN WARREN, Sec'y, Medical Society.

A Course of Anatomical Lectures will be demonstrated this Winter, by Dr. J. Warren, to commence in about two weeks from the date hereof.

Boston, December 3, 1781.[3]

Finally, the Harvard Medical School having been established in 1782, on November 22 of that year Dr. John Warren was elected Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.[4]

And thus we are brought to our starting-point — the instruments which were "to be fixed up" for young Ames. If students who entered Harvard in 1767 formed an Anatomical Society, it is by no means impossible that those who entered a decade earlier also pursued medical studies. Nor should the fact be overlooked that

[1] A society called the S—— C—— was founded September 6, 1770, and on September 11 John Warren was admitted a member. This was the Speaking Club, now the Institute of 1770, the records of which are preserved in the College Library. Some of the early pages are either gone or mutilated, making it impossible to say with certainty whether Eustis and Norwood were members, but their names do not occur in the pages remaining. Warren spoke on October 9, November 21, December 18, 1770, and March 4, April 2, May 14, 1771. Some of the pieces may have been original, but probably most if not all were selections. Cf. Publications of this Society, viii. 291 note 4, 292 note 2.

[2] Independent Chronicle, January 4, 1781, p. 3/3; January 11, p. 4/2; January 18, p. 4/1.

[3] Independent Chronicle, December 6, 1781, p. 2/1; December 14, p. 4/3; December 20, p. 4/3. On December 20 the advertisement contained this addition: "N.B. Gentlemen of whatever profession may be admitted." This course was in response to a vote of the Boston Medical Society on November 3, 1781, "That Dr. John Warren be desired to demonstrate a course of Anatomical Lectures the ensuing winter" (T. F. Harrington, Harvard Medical School, i. 80, 259).

[4] Harrington, Harvard Medical School, i. 84.

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William Kneeland, whose windows were broken by the undergraduates on October 9, 1760,[1] was not merely a Tutor but a physician as well.[2] Could young Ames have studied medicine under Kneeland?[3]

Mr. MORISON also communicated Ephraim Eliot's private report of the Class of 1780, from his commonplace book:

SOME ACCOUNT OF MY CLASSMATES IN COLLEGE WHO GRADUATED IN 1780[4]

DAVID LEONARD BARNES a Judge of United States Court in Rhode Island, a good scholar & respectable in Society.

[1] See p. 262, above. On January 5, 1762, Ames wrote in his Diary that a student "that was expell from College for Breaking Doct. Kneelands Windows some time since Commen[t] is now rec[d] again upon application to the Overseers of Colls" (Dedham Historical Register, i. 146).

[2] Harrington says that Kneeland, after his graduation from Harvard in 1751, "took up the study of medicine with an eminent physician, and while pursuing his studies cultivated various branches of science, and was noted as a scholar in logic and metaphysics. He was Tutor . . . from the year 1754 to 1763, after which he began the practice of medicine in Cambridge" (Harvard Medical School, i. 170).

[3] In 1733 a curious case arose. Ebenezer Hartshorn entered in the class of 1732 and was duly placed at some time between September 30 and November 26, 1728, but against his name is written "left College" (Faculty Records, i. 20). In June, 1733, his petition for a Bachelor's degree was dismissed because he "declin'd offering himself to such an Examination" as the Corporation insisted upon. Hartshorn's own declaration was "yt he knew nothing of Hebrew, not so much as y[e] Letters; yt he had never read any system of natural or moral Phylosophy, yt he was unacquainted with Mathematicks, & could not pretend to answer in Logick; . . . and all yt he consented to be examined in, was Latin Classick Authors, y[e] Greek Testament & his profession of Physick" (College Book, iv. 167). That a student should have offered himself for examination in medicine as early as 1733 is worth notice.

[4] Mr. Matthews, who has furnished the notes for this document, finds that Ephraim Eliot omitted two of his classmates — John Barrett and James Delaney. Barrett's name does not occur in the list of those admitted August 8, 9, September 13, 25, 1776, in the Faculty Records (iv. 37), but was interlined later as follows:

Barrett John Springfield. State of Vermont. 23 Aug[t] 16 1779
from Dart: Aug[t] 1779

That is, he was born August 16, 1756, he was admitted from Dartmouth College in August, 1779, and his place of residence at entrance was Springfield, Vermont. He was admitted to the honorary degree of A.M. at Dartmouth in 1780, but his name does not appear in the list of non-graduates in the General Catalogue of Dartmouth College (1911).

Delaney's name is thus entered in the Faculty Records (iv. 37):

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NATH[L] BETHUNE a well fitted scholar — turn'd out dissipated, became an intemporate man — was a wholesale liquor dealer.

PARKMAN BRADSHAW a steady, exemplary man — was too old[1] when he commenced scholar — but attended the duty well. Soon after leaving College, in a fit of despair commited suicide.

WILLIAM BROOKS a well disposed lad, of unexceptionable character, but a poor scholar. I know not what course of life he pursued, but believe was in trade in the district of Maine.

JAMES BROWN the son of a very rich man in Providence. Has not been known in Society out of that town.[2]

JOHN CRANE a highly orthodox clergyman — a Doctor of Divinity at Providence. Minister at Northfield — a good mathematician & otherwise respectable — for a Hopkinsian.[3]

WILLIAM CROSWELL a very distinguished mathematical and classical scholar, but so diffident that he has been lost to the world.[4]

PHILIP DRAPER rusticated from the former class. Had capacity, but was a Rascal.[5]

Delaney James S[t] Christophers 17 Nov[r] 5

On July 15, 1777, the Faculty voted "That James Delaney have Leave of Absence to go to S[t] Christophors agreable to his Father's Desire, & to return to this Society as soon as his Affairs may permit" (iv. 67). Apparently he never returned.

[1] Bradshaw was over twenty-five at entrance, having been born March 8, 1751 (Faculty Records, iv. 37).

[2] Brown, "Sophomore at Providence College," was admitted August 29, 1779, "His Age 15. Sep[t] 22. 1776" (Faculty Records, iv. 64–65). See General Catalogue of Brown University (1914).

[3] Crane, the only clergyman in the class, a "Freshman at Providence College," was admitted May 15, 1777. "N. B. He is from Norton — Age 21. March 26, 1777" (Faculty Records, iv. 58). See General Catalogue of Brown University (1914). He was minister at Northbridge — not Northfield, as Eliot has it.

[4] Croswell, "Son of the Rev[d] M[r] [Andrew] Croswell of Boston, aged 16 Years July 1776," was admitted March 13, 1777 (Faculty Records, iv. 53).

[5] Draper had a varied career. In the list of those admitted in 1775 to the class of 1779, he is thus entered (Faculty Records, iv. 15):

Draper Philip (N. B. Rusticated) Dedham 18 March 2

The words "(N. B. Rusticated)" are interlined and were of course added later. On October 3, 1777, he was admonished in that he "did grosly & cruelly beat" another student; on October 6 he was degraded six places for theft; on November 3 he had leave to go to New York; on December 12–14, 1777, he was restored to his former place; on June 5, 1779, he was rusticated; on July 21 his petition to the Corporation for reversal of his rustication was denied; on June 23, 1780, his petition to the Faculty for readmission was deferred, and on July 10 was denied; but on July 19, 1780, his petition to the Corporation for a degree

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EPHRAIM ELIOT a scholar below mediocrity — never was well fitted for college — not being design'd for a public education, push'd in, because there was a suspension of business owing to war in 1776, but jogg'd along unnotic'd and made a good apothecary. Became paralytic.

ABEL FLYNT a tolerable scholar — died young, a student in physic.[1]

AARON HASTINGS good at classics became insane & died miserable.

JAMES HEWES smuggled into the class without residence or rank in it at the time of graduating, to the disgrace of the government. A contemptible lawyer — very immoral & despised in society. His only accomplishment, what was called a ready talent at wit & low repartee.[2]

DANIEL JENKS a clever man middling scholar — died young.[3]

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was granted. (Faculty Records, iv. 15, 69, 71, 72–73, 96, 125–127, 151; College Book, viii. 29, 56–57.)

T. W. M. Draper says that "Mr. Draper received his M.D. from Harvard University in 1780, and was a practising physician in the South Parish of Dedham until his death" (Draper Family in America, 1892, pp. 176–177). The former statement is of course incorrect, and if the latter is not also the fact escaped Dr. T. F. Harrington, who does not mention him in his Harvard Medical School. Draper's brother Ichabod graduated in the class of 1783, while his two sons Jeremiah and Moses graduated in the class of 1808.

[1] Flynt's name is not found in Dr. Harrington's Harvard Medical School.

[2] James Hughes was admitted to college July 18, 1780, and was granted his degree the next day. The case is so extraordinary that it is worth giving the Faculty vote in full:

At the Meeting of the President Professors & Tutors.

James Hughes of Boston, who was designed to be a member of this College at the time when the war broke out, but was prevented by being shut up in Boston in that Town by the British Troops, and was afterwards discouraged by many difficulties, now offering himself to examination, for admission into the present Senior Class, to be with them a Candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; And he being recommended by several respectable Gentlemen of education, as a person of unexceptionable moral character, and that he has pursued the course of Studies, usual in this University, and made such advances in the several branches of Literature as render him worthy of a first degree — Agreed that he be admitted to examination — He was accordingly examined, in the Learned Languages, in Geography, Logic, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy & Astronomy, and found to have made good proficiency in those branches of Literature —

Whereupon it was voted — That the aforesaid James Hughes, upon his paying the Sum of Ninety pounds in Spanish Milled Dollars, or Continental Bills equivalent, to the Satisfaction of the Treasurer, be admitted a Member of the present Senior Class, and stand candidate with them for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Faculty Records, iv. 153–154).

[3] On June 27, 1777, "Daniel Jenckes of Providence College," a Junior Sophister, applied for admission to the Sophomore Class, was examined, found deficient, yet was admitted "on Conditions" (Faculty Records, iv. 61). See General Catalogue of Brown University (1914).

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JACOB KIMBALL, an elegant scholar at entrance. Had gone through all the exercises of a freshman before, under Master Moody.[1] Time being on his hands, & having nothing to employ him, he fell a sacrifice to a parcel of unprincipled gamblers who swindled him. Was a great scientist, psalm singer & composer, in that branch of music. Truly may be said to have been too well fitted. Became a dissipated sot.

NEHEMIAH MASON a good scholar & respectable one — unknown his destination.[2]

ELIAS PARKMAN a hard student, he wanted capacity and made no figure in life. A well disposed man.

SYLVANUS PLYMPTON a decent scholar, & rather more than a quack doctor.[3]

JOSEPH PRINCE excellent scholar but unfortunate in life. Was burnt to death in the State of Maine.

ISAAC REED no scholar — an expert gamester — mind Kimball!

THOMAS W. RUSSEL son of an auctioneer — a very distinguish'd scholar — burnt to death by foolish sport after election day playing with squibs. A merchant of Boston, and ought to have been better employed.[4]

DANIEL SARGENT of Chelsea. Taken in to add to numbers in 1776. Never had an idea in his life, except to grease his hair and clean his buckles. No business.

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[1] Samuel Moody, H. C. 1746; preceptor of Dummer Academy, 1763–1790; died 1795.

[2] On July 24, 1779, "Nehemiah Mason of Stonington aged 22 Years 10th April last, producing a Certificate from President Stiles of his regular standing in Yale College; & Jacob White of Mansfield, aged 21 Years 30th of July last, who had, as appears by the Testimony of Mason, a Certificate of like Tenor, which thro inadvertence he left at Home, desiring Admission into the Senior Sophister Class" (Faculty Records, iv. 112–113), were duly admitted.

[3] Plympton's name does not occur in the list of those admitted in 1776, but was interlined later as follows (Faculty Records, iv. 37):

Plympton Sylvanus Medfield 21 Novr 7 1778 from Dart: Augt 1779

His name is not found in the General Catalogue of Dartmouth College (1911).

[4] Election day in 1785 was May 25, while Commencement Day was July 20. The following notice appeared in the Independent Chronicle of July 21, 1785:

Yesterday died, greatly lamented, Mr. THOMAS WALLEY RUSSELL, son of Mr. *Joseph Russell*, of this town, in the 24th year of his age. His remains are to be entombed to-morrow afternoon, at six o'clock, from his father's house in Long-Lane, where his friends and relations are desired to attend. An attempt to do justice to his memory, might, by the eye of the uncandid and stranger, be viewed as adulation, and add fresh poignancy to the grief his disease has already occasioned his numerous friends and acquaintance (p. 3/3).

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WILLIAM SYMMES an excellent scholar — bid fair to make a fine lawyer, but was spoilt by a residence in Virginia, where he became dissipated. Settled in the law in Portland, Maine. Made no figure.

JESSE THOMAS studied physic, went to Maine to practice, where he was probably murder'd to get posession of money. Securities were paid in nine months after he left Marshfield, his native place. He was traced to Vassalborough in 1784, but the murder has never been known of, or its circumstances.[1]

JAMES TRUE a steady, clever man, and somewhat of a scholar, when he entered. Became deranged in mind, and died crazy. Followed no business.

FORTESCUE VERNON a good scholar, till his grandfather died. Left him much money, after which he became dissipated. He died at sea. Good for nothing, became poor.[2]

[1] The commonplace book contains at another place further particulars regarding the mysterious disappearance of Jesse Thomas.

[2] "Fortescue Vernon of Boston, aged 15 Y^rs [Novr 9 1776," was admitted February 18, 1777 (Faculty Records, iv. 51). He was the son of William Vernon who, though born in Boston June 27, 1740, described himself in his will (dated October 15, 1787, proved December 28, 1789) as "of the Colony of Essequibo, Planter," and stated that he had sold his "plantation called Boston in Essequibo." William Vernon was the son of Capt. Fortescue and Jane (Cowell) Vernon. In Capt. Vernon's will (dated June 23, 1778, and proved January 8, 1779) are these clauses: "Item I give to my Son William Vernon, the Farm at Newton . . . for and During his natural Life only, & upon the Decease of my said Son Willm Vernon, I give & Devise the same unto his son by his first Wife namely my Grandson Fortesque Vernon. . . . Item I give & bequeath to my Grandson Fortesque Vernon . . . seven thousand Dollars in Continental Securities with the Interest thereon that may be Due at the Time of my Decease, and that the Interest that may become Due on them after, I will may be paid to him yearly as it becomes due for his Maintenance at Colledge and Pocket Expences at his own Discretion." Capt. Vernon died December 21, 1778, as appears from the following notice: "Last Monday evening departed this Life, Captain FORTESQUE VERNON, aged 63. His funeral will be this afternoon, from his mansion-house (in Charter-Street) at half past 3 o'clock — where his FRIENDS and ACQUAINTANCE are desired to attend" (Independent Chronicle, Thursday, December 24, 1778, p. 3/2).

On January 29, 1779, Professor Stephen Sewall was appointed "guardian unto Fortesque Vernon a Minor above fourteen years of Age Grandson of Capt. Fortesque Vernon late of Boston deceased;" and in the account he rendered September 29, 1783, is this item: "p^d the President & Fellows of Harvard College 3.2.1." While in college, Vernon was admonished on May 10–16, 1780, and again on December 15, 1780 (Faculty Records, iv. 145–146, 183–185), showing that he was in residence for at least a while after graduation, though apparently he did not remain for his A.M. He died intestate in March, 1790, and on April 13 administration on his estate was granted to Stephen Bruce. The Massachusetts

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ARNOLD WELLES a distinguished scholar, and has been much respected through life. Now blind.

JAMES WHITE came from New Haven late in standing. Appeared a fine classical scholar & very respectable. Died young.[1]

SAMUEL WILLIAMS the best scholar in the class except Croswell & very distinguished merchant in London many years.

THOMAS L WINTHROP a very good scholar & of distinguish'd rank in society.[2]

Mr. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited an original document relating to New Hampshire, and said:

The following letter is addressed "To the Gentlemen Selectmen or Committee of Safety at Greenland:"

PORTSMOUTH 10th. Jan. 1776

Gentlemen —

The subscriber being Chairman of a Committee, appointed by a vote of this Town, for that Purpose, beg leave to inform you, that the Town have this Day agreed upon, & forwarded a Petition to the Hon. Provincial Congress, praying they will defer taking up Government, for the present, by advices this Day received, we are fully convinced, that such a Measure will have a Tendency, to make Enemies of our Friends, in great Britain as it will look, like a desire of setting up, an Independancy, & We are apprehensive that it will greatly endanger the common Cause, by promoting a Disunion among ourselves, Evils at this Time to be carefully guarded against, if you think with us, we doubt not you'll call your Town together, as speedily as may be, in order to Petition as we have done?

I am Gentlemen
Your Humble Servent
JOHN PENHALLOW Chairman.

Centinel of April 14 said: "*DIED*] — *At Demarara, Mr.* FORTESCUE VERNON" (xiii. 35/2). See Suffolk Probate Files, nos. 16804, 16831, 18955, 19344, 19476; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 242, 251, 268, 272, xxviii, 230; Massachusetts Magazine, i. 64, ii. 256; T. Bridgman, Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial Ground, 1851, p. 48; Boston Gazette, January 31, 1780, p. 3/1; Independent Chronicle, February 5, 1789, p. 3/3.

[1] Jacob (not James) White was admitted from Yale July 24, 1779: see p. 293, note 2, above.

[2] Winthrop was admitted from Yale April 30, 1779. "N. B. Winthrop belongs to New-London — Aged 19. March 6. 1779" (Faculty Records, iv. 104).

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On the back are the original minutes of the meeting at Greenland, as follows:

Colony of New Hampshire Rockingham ss } At a meeting of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of Greenland on Friday the 12th day of Janʸ 1776
Voted, that Wᵐ Weeks Esqr be Moderator.
Voted, that Wᵐ Pickering be Clerk, pro tempore.

Voted, that the Selectmen & Committee of Safety together with Mʳ Thoˢ Parker be a Committee to make a Draught to remonstrate against the assumption of Government in this Colony & report to this meeting.

Voted that this meeting be adjourned for one hour.

Met according to adjournment. The Comᵉ appointed to prepare sd Draught reported as follows,

Voted unanimously that the foregoing Draught be accepted and presented for Benefit of the Town by Wᵐ Weeks, Esqʳ

Attest Wᵐ PICKERING Clerk P. T.

In another place, the last clause reads: "Voted unanimously that the foregoing Draught be accepted & that Wᵐ Weeks, Esqʳ be Desired in Behalf of the Town to present the same." Another endorsement reads:

GREENLAND Janʸ 12th 1776

At a tow meating of the free holders of said tow Legally sembled — Voted mag. Wᵐ Weaks moderator. Voted Wᵐ Pickering a Tempore Clark. Voted that there be a Pertition Directed to the honorable Provinchel Congress, magor Wᵐ Weaks to Deliver said to the Congres.

Prior to this meeting at Portsmouth, the Provincial Congress, as its members were authorized to do, adopted (January 5th) a form of government in which the legislative and executive powers were vested in a Council and House of Representatives,[1] but their action met with considerable opposition, which resulted in this meeting at Portsmouth and meetings in several other towns.

In an anonymous letter, read in Congress, it was alleged that the resolutions were passed in a very thin meeting, to which it was replied that there were upward of two hundred persons present and that the resolutions were passed unanimously. On January 12 a committee was appointed to write to the Congress, requesting to see the original letter, which they stated contained assertions which

[1] New Hampshire State Papers, viii. 2–4; Adams, Annals of Portsmouth, p. 262.

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were utterly false, scandalous and derogatory to the honor of the town, "in order that the author who has been guilty of this Scandalous Falsehood, may receive the reward of his Just Demerit." On January 16 another town meeting was held in Portsmouth, and a committee was elected to go to Exeter to speak to the petition; and on the 18th the petitions of Portsmouth and nine other towns were read to the House and considered and were fully argued by Mr. John Pickering.

A little later (February 10th) all these petitions were referred to the Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence closed the incident.[1]

Copies of only two of these petitions, those of Greenland[2] and Portsmouth,[3] have been preserved.

[1] New Hampshire State Papers, viii. 12, 15, 33, 67.
[2] New Hampshire Town Papers, xii. 68.
[3] New Hampshire State Papers, viii. 16.

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APRIL MEETING, 1917

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, by invitation of Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, at No. 62 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, 27 April, 1917, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate officers for the several offices, — Messrs. GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT and HORACE EVERETT WARE and the Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER and CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN.

The PRESIDENT announced the death on the eighth instant of the Hon. Richard Olney, a Resident Member, and paid a tribute to his memory.

Mr. GEORGE BURTON ADAMS of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD read two letters from Daniel Webster, one written in 1849 to the Rev. James Kendall, asking for information concerning the celebration in former years of Forefathers' Day; the other written in 1851 to Isaac L. Hedge, complaining of his treatment by the Old Colony Railroad Company in the matter of free passes for himself and family. Mr. Lord called attention to the remarkable change in public opinion about such matters and cited the statute of 1892, making the granting of such passes a penal offence.

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Mr. PERCIVAL MERRITT made the following communication:

THE KING'S GIFT TO CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON, 1733

Christ Church and King's Chapel were so intimately connected during the fifty years which preceded the Revolution that it is almost impossible to consider any important event in the life of the former without coming in contact with the life of the latter. The committee, which was appointed in 1722 to secure subscriptions for the new church at the North End of Boston, was chosen for that purpose at a meeting of the congregation of King's Chapel summoned by its Rector, the Rev. Samuel Myles.[1] When the Rev. Timothy Cutler sailed for London in the autumn of 1722 to take Holy Orders, he was accompanied by a letter from the Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapel recommending him to the Bishop of London for ordination, and urging that the Bishop should grant him his "License for the Church now to be built in this place."[2] The corner-stone of Christ Church was laid in April, 1723, by the Rev. Mr. Myles "accompany'd with the gentlemen of King's Chapel."[3] Dr. Cutler preached his first sermon, after his return to Boston in September, 1723, in King's Chapel.[4] On more than one occasion, when the interests or dignity of the Anglican Church in Massachusetts were involved, the vestrys of the two churches met together and took action in joint session. During the long illness of Dr. Cutler, prior to his death in 1765, the officers of Christ Church turned to Dr. Caner of King's Chapel for assistance and advice, and on August 20th, 1765, Dr. Caner preached the sermon at the funeral of Dr. Cutler.

These are but a few instances of the inter-relation of the two churches which might be multiplied almost indefinitely. It is not surprising therefore, — soon after the arrival in Boston in 1730 of Jonathan Belcher returning duly commissioned as Governor of the Province, and bringing to King's Chapel an evidence of the Royal bounty in the form of Bible and Prayer-Books, Communion plate

[1] Account Book (1722–1759) of Christ Church.
[2] Christ Church files; from copy of original letter.
[3] Account Book.
[4] Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, i. 323.

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and furnishings for the Altar, — to find the following entry in the Vestry Records of Christ Church: [1]

At a Vestry Meeting the 18th of Novr 1730:

Present,

The Revd Doc^{r} T. Cutler

Mr Geo. Monk, Mr Wm Patten } Church Wardens

Mr H. Laughton, Mr Geo. Skinner, Capt R. Harris, M^{r} Th. Carrington } Vestrymen

Mr Jno Howard, Mr E. Stanbridge, Mr Wm Price

In consideration of late Donation of his present Majesty our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second to his Maj$^{ty's}$ Chappel in this Town at the desire of his Excellency Jon^{a} Belcher Esqr our Govern^{r} and under the Promising Views of obtaining the like Benevolence from our said Sovereign by the good Interest and Encouragement of our Govern^{r} afores^{d} Voted That the Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry do Concur with his Excell^{y} Jon^{a} Belcher Esqr in a due Application for getting plate and other Utencills for ye Altar of Christ Church and for a Bible, prayer book &c. for the Use of the Said Church like as his Majesty's Chappell in this Town has lately been given by the Interest of the said Govern^{r}. Voted That the Church Wardens for the Time being, Shall pay out of the Church Stock all the Expences of getting the S^{d} Utencills out of the proper Offices in Great Britain amounting to about Seventeen Pounds sterling. Voted That a letter be Sent by the Said Minister Church Wardens and Vestry To Edmund Lord Bishop of London to that End.

The estimate of £17 for expenses was probably based on the charges incurred by King's Chapel of £16.7.0 for various amounts disbursed in London by Governor Belcher in 1730 on account of the Royal gift. The records of King's Chapel, however, show an additional payment to Belcher in 1731 of £57.4.6 "for his charges in Procuring and bringing plate, &c." [2] It is not absolutely clear from the records as printed whether the supplementary payment in 1731 was in sterling, or in local currency, but if the former Christ Church apparently fared better in the matter of expenses, as will be seen later.

[1] All extracts from the Vestry Records are from the first Record Book, 1724–1802.

[2] Annals of King's Chapel, i. 400.

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The Governor evidently bestirred himself actively in the interests of Christ Church for, under date of July 24, 1731, he wrote the Bishop of London:[1] "I am very thankful to your Lordship for what Mr Newman writes of the good offices your Lordship has been pleased to employ in favor of Christ's Church in this Town, of which I have acquainted Doct^r^ Cutler and the Vestry, and that from your Lordship's Goodness & parental Care, they may hope for his Majesty's Bounty to that Infant Church."[2]

After the receipt of Mr. Newman's[3] advices, however, a question evidently arose in London as to the advisability of complying with the request of the Church and Governor which was reflected in the following action taken by the Vestry of Christ Church: "At a Vestry Meeting the 23'd of Novem^r^ 1731, . . . Voted That two letters be forwarded to London p Capt Sheperdson, The one to his Grace the Duke of Grafton & the other to his Lordsp. the Bishop of London, Copys of the Said letters being lodg'd in Mr Willm. Pattens hands." The reason for this action and the Governor's personal interest in the matter is shown by several letters among the Belcher Papers.

On November 20, 1731, Belcher wrote Henry Newman: "I am very thankfull for your care to procure the King's bounty for Christ's Church, & observe what my good Lord of London wrote you in the matter, which I hope he has before this time confirmed to my Lord Chamberlain. *Ore tenus*, you must not despair, but sollicit diligently till you obtain."[4] On December 1, 1731, he wrote himself to the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of Grafton:

I had the great honour of addressing your Grace in Decr last, and (among other things) to mention to y^r^ Grace the request of the Minister & Vestry of Christ's C^hh^ in this town for his Majesty's bounty of plate & furniture to that infant c^hh^, and for which they now presume to make their humble petition to your Grace, and I so fully represented to your Grace in my last the strait circumstances of that c^hh^ that I am afraid to give your Grace a new trouble on that head. But as the King's

[1] Edmund Gibson.

[2] W. S. Perry, Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, iii. 270.

[3] Henry Newman, H. C. 1687, Librarian 1690–1693: see our Publications, xiv. 135–136.

[4] Belcher Papers, i. 59.

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Chappel in this town twice recd the royal bounty, I beg leave to assure your Grace that your kind regards to this c^hh in a favourable representation of their poor condition to his Majesty, and that they might enjoy the royal smiles in this respect wou'd be an instance of your Grace's great goodness & favour to this C^hh of England in gen^ll in this country, & oblige them always to pray for the best of blessings to be poured down upon your Grace and every branch of your noble family.[1]

On the same day Belcher also addressed a letter to Mr. Evans, the Lord Chamberlain's secretary, in which was indicated the nature of the obstacle which had arisen:

S^r — Sometime in Decemb^r last I wrote to his Grace the Lord High Chamberlain in favour of the Minister & Vestry of Christ's C^hh in this town to pray his [Grace's kind regards to their obtaining the Kings bounty to that c^hh in the like manner as has been twice extended to the King's Chappel in this town, and I now presume to remind his Grace of this their request. The people of this c^hh have done great service & honour to the C^hh of England in gen^ll in this country by exerting themselves in building so good & handsome a house, and it will be a great discouragement to those who are well affected to the c^hh if they do not finally obtain the royal favour in this respect. Mr Newman who sollicits this matter in their behalf tells me some difficulty arises lest the doing it for this c^hh shou'd make it a president for other c^hhs in this town hereafter. But of this I think there can be no great danger, because the two c^hhs in this town will be sufficient for those that attend divine service in the C^hh of England for a long time to come. Besides if presidents might always have their force you will find on the books a sett of plate & other furniture sent in the reign of the late Queen Anne for a c^hh among the Mohawks (or Five Nations), and as before mention'd the church here called the King's Chappel has twice recd. the royal bounty. From the little acquaintance I had with Mr Evans at Whitehall, I now take the freedom to ask your friendship to this c^hh in facilitating the matter with my Lord Duke that they may obtain a favourable answer to this their reasonable request. Mr Newman will take care to discharge all the office fees, and I shall be glad to return your respect on this head in such a way & manner as you may please to command.[2]

Three days later, December 4, 1731, in a letter to the Bishop of London, the Governor also refers in some detail to the mooted question of precedent:

[1] Belcher Papers, i. 65–66.

[2] i. 66–67.

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. . . in the mean time (& always) your Lordship may rest assured, not only of justice, but of all the favour & friendship in my power to the C^{hh} of England. And as an instance of it I am now again humbly to thank your Lordship, in behalf of the ministry, wardens, & vestry of Christ's C^{hh} in this town, for the good offices your Lordship has employ'd for obtaining the King's bounty for this c^{hh}. They now again write to my Lord Chamberlain and to your Lordship with their most humble & gratefull acknowledgments, and pray the continuance of your Lordship's kind regards to them, which I also do, and that you wou'd please to recollect what I wrote your Lordships on this head in Decr last, and was so full as will hardly allow of any addition, unless to obviate the difficulty my Lord Chamberlain suggests of the matter's being made precedential, of which I apprehend there is no danger from any prospect of another c^{hh} being built in this town for a long time to come, besides there was plate, books, & furniture sent p̄ the late Queen Anne for a c^{hh} intended to be among the Mohawks (or Five Nations); and with great submission why may not this be pleaded, that all other c^{hhs} shou'd have the same favour from the Crown; and in the reign of the late glorious K. W. the c^{hh} in this town rec̄d plate & all other furniture, and a duplicate of all the last year, that methinks it seems hard that this infant c^{hh} shou'd not enjoy the royal smile, which I will still hope for from your Lordship's benign & powerfull interposition. But let the success be now what it will, I promise not to give your Lordship (or myself) any further trouble in an affair in which I have no other interest than as I think it wou'd be a service to the C^{hh} of England (in this country) in general, and to this new c^{hh} in particular.[1]

And finally a letter from Belcher to Newman, also under date of December 4, reveals the fact that the Governor himself had been the inspiring cause of the vestry meeting of November 23d:

The minister & vestry of Christ's C^{hh} send you their humble service & most hearty thanks for your kind and diligent sollicitations in the affair of the King's bounty, and I have put them upon writing to my Lord Chamberlain & the Bishop of London, which you have herewith, with mine & one I have wrote to Mr Evans (whom I knew at Whitehall). All these letters you are to open, read, & handsomely reseal & deliver. You have Mr Harris's order for money to defrey the charge, and I wish you success; & if otherwise I shall not give you or myself any further trouble in an affair in which I have no other interest than the

[1] Belcher Papers, i. 73–74.

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welfare & prosperity of the C^hh of England. I am truly, S^r, Your most faithfull humble servant, J. B. If you obtain let them all come under my care to be deliver'd.[1]

The Church's supplementary letters of November, 1731, reinforced by the Governor's personal appeals, produced the desired result, and "At a Vestry Meeting held at Mr Patten's ye 26th December 1732" it was "Voted That a letter Shall be *writt* to Capt Robt Harris to take into possession the Plate &c. for the Communion of Christ's Church In Boston the Revd Dr T. Cutler Rector. And y^t thanks may be return'd to Mr Sandford,[2] & those Gent^n that were the Church's friend concerning that affair."

Several months later, under date of May 3, 1733, a Treasury warrant was issued for the execution of a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Duke of Montagu, Master of the Great Wardrobe, "for the delivery to the Bishop of London of Bibles, Prayer Books, and chapel furniture, detailed, as a gift from his Majesty to Christ Church, at Boston, New England, to the value of £106 and also of Communion plate for same, to the value of £80."[3]

Without further undue delay, the necessary formalities having been complied with, the King's gift was forwarded to Boston, arriving early in September, as is shown by the Vestry Records. "At a Vestry Meeting Held at Mr Patten's ye 10th September 1733," the Rector, Wardens, and five Vestrymen being present, it was recorded that —

Having Received the Bounty of Our Most Gracious Sovereign King George the 2^d In Sending things for ye Ornament & Use of our Church & Altar and the Charge of twenty-six pounds 16/10 Sterling ariseing thereby. It is now Voted That the above Charge be defrayed in the following manner Viz^t. That a bill of Exchange of Twelve pounds 16/10^d Sterling be provided for the Discharge of Mr Henry Newman's Acco^t & that to be delivered to Mr Andrew Belcher.[4] Voted That ye Sum of Fourteen pounds Sterling which Cap^n Robt Harris has paid in part of Mr H^y Newman's Acco^t be paid to his Satisfaction. Voted That

[1] Belcher Papers, i. 75.

[2] Thomas Sandford, merchant in London and agent of the congregation of King's Chapel (Annals of King's Chapel, i. 352, 381–382).

[3] Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1731–1734, p. 379.

[4] Andrew Belcher (H. C. 1724), oldest son of Governor Belcher, and a Boston merchant.

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the above Charges with the Freight be paid out of the Church Stock by the Church Wardens.

At a vestry meeting held September 17, 1733, the Church Wardens and five Vestrymen being present, it was —

Voted That a Copy of the following Receipt be Delivered by the Church Wardens to Mr And^{w} Belcher Viz^{t}. We the Church Wardens of Christ Church at Boston In New England (whereof the Revd Dr Tim^{o} Cutler is Rector) Have this Day 8th Sepr 1733 Receiv'd the Royal Present of His Most Excellent Majesty King George ye 2^{d} Our most Gracious Sovereign, From on board the New Cambridge Galley John Crocker Commander by the hands of Mr Andrew Belcher Consisting of the following plate & Furniture Viz^{t}.

2 Silver Flagons
1 Chalice
1 Patten
1 Receiver
1 Royal Bible
2 Com. pray^{r} books } bound in Turkey leather Strung wth blue garter ribon & trim'd wth gold fringe
12 Com. pray^{r} books fol. bound in Calf gilt filleted[1] and Strung wth blue ribon.
2 Cusheons for the Read^{g} Desk
1 Large Cusheon & Cloth for ye Pulpitt
1 Carpett[2] & Altar piece
20 Yds. Damask Cloth for ye Communion Table
2 Large Surplices of fine holland.

All the above particulars we do hereby most gratefully acknowledge to have Receiv^{d} the Day above menc̄oned As Witness our hands at Boston afores^{d} the 17'th day of September An. Dni. 1733

WILLM PRICE
JOHN HOOTTEN } Church Wardens.

Voted That ye Eldest Church Warden for ye Time being Do keep into his Custody all the plate belonging to ye Church; And at the goeing out of his Office To Deliver the Said Plate, Moneys and other Utencills belonging to the Church, to his Successor.

[1] Filleted, "marked or decorated with a fillet." Fillet, "a plain line impressed on the cover of a book" (Oxford English Dictionary).

[2] Employed in the now obsolete sense of a covering for the Altar. The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical agreed upon by Bishops and Clergy in their Synod (1603) provide that the Communion Table shall be "covered in time of Divine Service with a Carpet of Silk or other decent Stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the Ministration, as becometh that Table, and so stand, saving when the holy Communion is to be administered."

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Voted That the Royal Bible be for the Reading Desk: and that the Revd Doc^{r} Cutler have the Choice of four Common prayer Books the One for ye Reading-Desk and the three others for the Comunion Table.

Voted That Two Common prayer Books be Reserved for the Governor and Lieut^{t} Governor. And the Rest remaining undisposed off (the two following Books excepted) be reserved for ye Use of the Church. Voted That Two Common prayer Books be placed & fixt in the Church Warden's pew to be Used by them for the Time being.

Voted That the two Cusheons for the Reading desk and that for the pulpitt with the Cloth be placed therein, And the Carpett & Altar piece be placed at the Discretion of the present Church Wardens.

Voted That the 20 Yards Damask Cloth remain intire, as now is, Untill further Order.

Voted That the Two Old Cusheons be putt to Use in the Pew N° 30 Whenever the Governor or Lieut^{t} Govr is or are present; and that the Church Wardens order the place to be made convenient for ye same.

By Order of Y^{e} Vestry

F. BETEILHE C^{l}.

Having made this formal disposition of the various articles received the officers of the church next proceeded to make the proper acknowledgments. On the day following the vestry meeting of September 17, Governor Belcher wrote to his son, Jonathan Junior, then in England, that "Dr Cutler has rec̄d the Royal Bounty for Christ's C^{hh}, and has been with me with his Church Wardens (in behalf of the whole C^{hh}) to thank the Govr for his fav^{r} & friendship in procuring for them so valuable a gift."[1] Then the following entry appears in the Vestry Records: "At a Vestry-Meeting held at Mr Patten's the 1° Octob. 1733 [the Rector, Wardens, and five Vestrymen being present]; Voted That the Address to His most Excell^{t} Majesty and the Severall letters Recorded in ye Letter book F^{s} 21 to 24 be Signed by the Revd Doc^{r}, the Church Wardens & Vestry, and Sent to England with all Convenient Speed."

Finally the Governor, also, expressed his thanks in a letter to Henry Newman under date of October 6: "Capt Alden & Shepherdson have brought me your obliging favours of 5 May & 4 Aug^{s} last, and I give you a great many thanks for your sollicitations in behalf of Christ's C^{hh}, which have at last found the desir'd success, and I

[1] Belcher Papers, i. 371.

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tell the Doctr & his Church Wardens that this bounty is the pure produce of your indefatigable application. The plate & other furniture is noble & handsome & very acceptable." [1]

The question naturally arises why Governor Belcher was so interested in securing this gift for Christ Church that he exerted a personal pressure in various influential quarters to obtain it. This is easily asked but not so easily answered. Although the Governor and the Rector had been undergraduates in Harvard College at about the same time, the former being in the Class of 1699 and the latter in 1701, there is nothing to indicate any particular intimacy between them. In fact Belcher the Congregationalist would hardly have been in sympathy with Cutler, the ex-Rector of Yale College, whose defection from Congregationalism to Episcopacy in 1722 had stirred ecclesiastical New England so deeply.

A possible solution, however, may be found in the correspondence of Belcher with the Bishop of London. In his letter of July 24, 1731, a portion of which has already been quoted, he asked the Bishop's indulgence for a complaint which he wished to make against the Rev. Roger Price, then Rector of King's Chapel and the Bishop's Commissary for New England. It will be noticed that this letter was written some months after the original application of the vestry of Christ Church, but only a few months before Belcher incited them to press the matter again and assisted them by personal letters in their favor. He informed the Bishop that, in accordance with an immemorial custom, he had proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer and had appointed March 25th for its observance. Whereupon the Commissary and Mr. Harward (the King's Lecturer) of King's Chapel together with Dr. Cutler of Christ Church had waited upon the Governor and informed him that March 25 was Lady Day and a Festival of the Church of England.[2] In reply the Governor said that neither he nor any member of the Council had even thought of it, and added that he had been "born and bred a Dissenter" and was almost an entire stranger to the Church of England, yet, had he known it, he would have appointed some other day. But, to quote his own words:

[1] Belcher Papers, i. 389–390.

[2] Lady Day, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary; also, under Old Style, the first day of the new year.

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Notwithstanding my mild & handsome treatment of the Clergy, the Commissary was so rude as to tell me he believed it was done purposely to affront the Church, & that in the appointment of such days he ought to be consulted. This I look upon as a great piece of Insolence on the King's Govr, and had it not been in regard to Dr Cutler & Mr Harwood, who behaved themselves consistent with their character, I should have treated Mr Price very roughly. Since this affair happened I neither have nor will go into the Church if I am apprized of his being in the Desk, nor suffer any of my family.[1]

After paying a further tribute to the good qualities of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Harward, the Governor wrote that he understood that Mr. Price talked of returning soon to England and concluded by saying that "I believe your Lordship can't do a greater service to the Church in these parts than to prevent his coming hither again."[2]

In a letter of December 4, 1731, to the Bishop, Belcher wrote: "Your Lordship very justly observes Mr Price's fault with respect to the Fast I wrote to your Lordship I had appointed. He is a young man, & I hope may grow wiser as he grows older, & when he does his duty & asks my pardon he shall find me the gent^{m} & the Christian."[3] On the following Christmas Day Belcher evidently attended Christ Church instead of King's Chapel, for the Belcher Papers record a letter of December 24th to Lieutenant-Governor Tailer inviting him to go with Colonel Byfield and the Governor to Dr. Cutler's Church the next day and to dine with the Governor.[4]

In May, 1734, Mr. Price actually went so far as to embark for England but changed his mind, went on shore again, and resumed his position at King's Chapel after an adjustment of his differences with the congregation. The Bishop of London had written Belcher, however, asking his opinion as to the appointment of another Commissary. In his reply under date of December 9th, 1734, Belcher wrote: "For the reasons I wrote your Lordship some years ago I have no acquaintance with Mr Price, nor do I desire any till I find he has more manners and comes and practises his duty to the King's Govr. But when I attend the C^{hh} of England it is commonly at Christ's C^{hh}, whereof Dr Cutler is minister."[5] He continued by

[1] Perry, Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, iii. 270.
[2] iii. 271.
[3] Belcher Papers, i. 72. [4] i. 460. [5] ii. 175.

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saying that he had made prudent inquiries but could not learn that Mr. Price had any intention at present of returning to England. But since the Bishop had asked his thoughts in the matter he recommended Dr. Cutler as the best qualified person he could think of to serve as Commissary when a vacancy might occur. One comment which Belcher made seems worth reproducing in his own words as an indication of the reaction of sturdy New England Protestantism on Anglican principles and practices: "Yet your L^{d}ship will allow me to say that if the Doct^{r} was more moderate in some hierarchycal principles he wou'd be better able to serve and increase the Church in this country, for the people here who have been originally planted and bro't up in another way may be drawn but will not be driven."[1] He added also that what was commonly called the King's Chapel was not so in reality since the minister was chosen by the congregation and not presented by the King. Therefore it was not necessary that the Commissary should be the Rector of King's Chapel, although it was desirable that he should be a minister of one of the churches in Boston, the capital of the Province. Accordingly he again commended Dr. Cutler to the Bishop "as a gent^{m} of figure and good prudence, and one whom I have good reason to beleive wou'd be to the good liking & satisfaction of the clergy over whom he is to preside."[2]

It would, therefore, seem a reasonable inference that the Governor's activity in procuring the King's gift for Christ Church was not so much inspired by interest in the church itself as by antagonism to the Commissary, and perhaps also to have the church, which he honored by his official presence when occasion arose, dignified by the Royal favor.

Pew No. 30 was obviously set apart as the "Governor's Pew" by the action of the vestry on September 17, 1733, as shown above. It is the front pew on the right-hand side of the centre aisle, and differs, with two exceptions, from other pews in the body of the church, which are as a rule approximately square, by being a long narrow pew extending from the centre to the side aisle. The last two pews in the church on either side of the centre aisle, Nos. 39 and 21, marked respectively "The Wardens" and "For strangers and

[1] Belcher Papers, ii. 175.
[2] ii. 176.

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wardens," are also long and narrow and extend from the centre to the side aisle.

From the time of this vote of the vestry until after the Revolution it was carried in the Church's account books as the Governor's Pew. In the second Account Book (1759–1823) there is an entry in the handwriting of James Sherman, Church Warden, to the effect "That the above Pew N° 30 was from the first Settlement of Christ Church in Boston devoted wholy to the use of His Excelenee the Governor and other Gentlemen and so continued untill August 1791." This fact apparently escaped the vigilant eye of the Rev. Mr. Foote, who wrote: "The 'Governor's pew' remained a unique property of the King's Chapel. The nearest approach to it in the other Episcopal Church was an acknowledgment of the gift of a cargo of logwood from Honduras." [1] This reference is to the construction in 1727 of the "Bay Pew," No. 46, "For the use of the Gentlemen of ye Bay of Handoras who have been or shall be Benefactors to this Church." [2] Mr. Foote added that "There was a Governors pew, however, in the First and South meeting-houses." [3]

Turning now to the first Account Book (1722–1759) of the Church we find the invoice entered in full. The various articles received are described with more particulars than in the Vestry Records, and the expense account is given in detail.

London 13th July 1733.

Invoice of His Majesty's Royal Present of Plate and other Furniture for the Communion Table Pulpit and Reading Desk of Christ Church at Boston in New England shipt by Henry Newman on the New Cambridge Galley Capt John Crocker Commander in One Chest Markt and number'd as in the Margent and Consigned to Mr Andrew Belcher Merch^t^ at Boston to be deliver^d^ to the Rever^d^ Dr Cutler Rect^r^ and the Church Wardens of the said Church.

A. B. for C. C.

[1] Annals of King's Chapel, i. 377 note.

[2] Vestry Records, June 9, 1727.

[3] Trinity Church, Boston, also set apart a pew for the use of the Governor, after the receipt, in 1742, of a gift of Communion plate, Bible and Prayer Books from the King through Governor Shirley. At a vestry meeting held August 27, 1742, it was voted: "that a pew be fitted up for his Excel^cys^ accomodation when he pleases to come to this Church, that the two pews N° 69 & N° 70 be made into square pews one for to accomodate his Excel^cy^ the other for the Wardens" (Addison, Life and Times of Edward Bass, p. 111).

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From the Jewel Office

- 2 Silver Flagons
- 1 Chalice
- 1 Patten
- 1 Receiver

} W^{t} 187 ounces pack'd up in a Calf's leather Trunk lined with green bayes.

His Majesty's Great Wardrobe

- 1 Royal Bible
- 2 Com: Pra: Books

} Bound in Turkey leather Strung with blue garter Ribbons and trim'd with gold fringe.

- 12 Com. Pray. books fol.

} bound in Calf Gilt & fillited & Strung wth blue ribbons.

- 2 Cushings for the Reading Desk
- 1 large Cushion & Cloth for ye Pulpit
- 1 Carpet & Altar piece

} All Crimson Genoa Damask trim^{d} with Crimson ingrain Silk, twist^{d} & knotted fringe & 4 tawcells Suitable to ye Cusheons.

- 20 Yards of Damask Cloth for the Communion Table
- 2 large Surplices of fine Holland

Ship'd

E. J. R.
M. D. L. G.

p HENRY NEWMAN

Charges Due to Mr Henry Newman for obtaining and Shipping the above Plate & Furniture Viz^{t}.

From Feb. 12th 1730/1 to Aprill 27th 1733	For Sundry Coach hire &c as p Acco^{t}		£6: 9:6–
	Paid Mr Evans, his G. the D. of Grafton's Secre^{y}	4:3:6	
	A Gratuity to Mr Griffith Mr Evans's Cl.	5:0	
	Ditto . . . to ye Door keeper	2:6	4:16:0
	Coach to ye Duke of Montague's Office		2:–
May 13	For Sundry Coach hire &c as p Acco^{t}		9:14:0
June 23	Ditto		5: 0:6
	Charges at the Custom-House &c^{a} Viz^{t}		
	For a Cocket [1] &c.	7:0	
	Searchers	:6	
	Wharfage & Porteridge	2:4	
	Petitioning the Commissioners	1:–	
	Wateridge on board	2:–	
	Primage [2] and Bills Lading	2:–	.14.10
	Sterl^{g}		£26:16:10

[1] Cocket, a "document sealed by the officers of the custom-house, and delivered to merchants as a certificate that their merchandise has been duly entered and has paid duty" (Oxford English Dictionary).

[2] Primage, "a customary allowance formerly made by the shipper to the master and crew of a vessel for the loading and care of the cargo; also called hat-money" (Oxford English Dictionary).

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This Day 8'th September 1733. Received the King's Gift of Plate &c for the Use of Christ Church as p particulars hereabove Mention'd.

This entry is followed at intervals in the Account Book by a number of charges, mainly for minor disbursements, incurred on account of the gift.

1733			
Septem^{r}	8	To D^{o} [Cash paid] for Truckidge of ye King's Gift from on board the Ship	0. 2:6
	10	To D^{o} to Spooner for hooks for ye Altar P^{ces}	2:-
	24	To Ditto to Jno Crocker for freight of the King's Gift	1:10:0
Octob^{r}	10	To D^{o} to Cap^{n} Rt. Harris for a bill of Exch^{e} for £12:16:4 Ster @ 270 p C^{t}	47:10:4

This last payment was apparently made in accordance with the vote of the vestry on September 10 that a bill of exchange of £12.16.10 be provided for the discharge of Mr. Newman's account, although there is a discrepancy of six pence between the two amounts.

On the opposite side of the Account Book the Church is credited with the following items:

1733			
Sept^{r}	13	by D^{o} [Cash] Taken out of the Church box to pay Cap^{n} Harris on Mr Newman's Acc^{t}	22:13:5
	24	by D^{o} [Cash received] of Cap^{n} Jno Crocker	0:10:-
October	14	" D^{o} of Cap^{n} Crocker	10:-

The first entry probably relates also to the action of the vestry of September 10, and would seem to indicate that a portion of the payment of October 10 to Captain Harris was drawn from a special source instead of from current receipts. The vestry had voted however that such payments should be made from the Church stock. The last two entries represent a rebate from Captain Crocker on the payment to him of £1.10 on September 24. This credit was repeated through error on October 14 and was offset by the debit of April 15, 1734, below.

Turning back to the debit side of the Account Book a number of charges are found for housing and safeguarding the gift:

1733			
Novemb^{r}	3	To D^{o} [Cash Paid]	
		for a box to Carry the plate	2.—.-
		for a lock to D^{o}	0. 5.-
		for handles for D^{o}	4.-
		for hinges for D^{o}	1.11

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December 22		To D° to Mr Hillard making the Silver Cup-Cover fitt for the King's Cup		1. 3
1734				
Jan'y	7	To D° for alter^s^ the Ch: Box & making a new drawer & a box for ye Bapt^l^ Silv^r^ bason		1:10:–
		To D° for a p of handles for ye box	0:4.0	0:14:2
		a drawer lock for D°	5:–	
		2 brass handles for ye Drawer	1:10	
		a Box lock & hinges	3:4	
	31	To D° For a Box Case with lock hinges and handle to put the Church books In		6:—:–
Aprill	15	To Cap^n^ Crocker hav^e^ twice C^t^ for 10. p mistake		10.–
Aprill	22	To d° paid Cap^n^ Robt Harris in full for 14^£^ Sterl. part of the ffees for the King's Gift		58:16:0

The payment of April 22 to Captain Harris, which also was authorized at the vestry meeting of September 10, 1733, completes the list of disbursements which followed the receipt of the Royal gift.

One of the articles received, the twenty yards of damask cloth, was not utilized for some time. It will be recalled that the vestry on September 17, 1733, had voted that it should "remain intire, as now is Untill further Order." But eventually, on March 25, 1735, the vestry —

Voted That the p^s^ damask Cloth contain^s^ 12 Yds. part of the 20 Yds. in his Majesty's Gift, as appears p Invoyce in the Vote dated 17 Septem^r^ 1733 be imediately made up for the Use of the Church. Voted That the remaining Eight Yards of the above mentioned 20 Yds Damask Cloth, be presented to the Revd Doc^r^ T. Cutler, by the Church Wardens, as a free Gift: And in Case he refuses to accept of the Same, Then Said 8 Yds. damask Cloth be immediately made up for the Use of the Church.

From the wording of the vote, a doubt evidently existed in the minds of the vestry as to whether the Rector would consider this a proper method of disposing of the church's property. The suspicion was well founded, for at a meeting on April 3, it was "Reported by the Church Wardens That by Virtue of a Vote dated 25th Ultimo They presented to the Revr^d^ Doc^r^ T. Cutler the 8 Yards Damask Cloth therein mentioned; And he refused to accept the Same." The disposition which the vestry finally made of the eight yards is indicated by a charge in the Account Book under date of July 7, 1735, of cash paid "for making 4 Table Cloths 14:–."

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And on April 26 of the following year when the newly elected Senior Warden gave a receipt, according to custom, for the church property, based on a complete inventory taken by his predecessor, April 7, 1735, he excepted "the p^{s} Damask Cloth q^{d} [quoad] 8 Yds. therein mentioned is now made up in four Table Cloths." This inventory had recorded:

1 p^{s} Damask Cloth containing 8 Yds.
5 New damask Table Cloths & 2 Old Table Cloths.
6 ditto . . . Napkins. . . . 6 Old Napkins . . .
1 Damask Altar Peice.

Apparently, then, the entire twenty yards was utilized for cloths and napkins for the Communion Table.

The damask Altar piece seems to have been diverted from its traditional position (it was hung on the wall behind the Altar),[1] and used in a somewhat curious way. An organ was installed in the church in 1736, and on December 10 of that year the vestry "Voted That the Ten Commandments wth Suitable Ornaments, be wrote & painted as soon as possible And That the Crimson Damask Altar peice be Appropriated for Curtains to the Organ-Loft." An altar piece would scarcely seem to have been of sufficient size to furnish curtains for the organ loft of Christ Church, and this was evidently the case. For in a special account of expenses incurred in connection with the organ (recorded under the year 1736), a payment was entered "To Robert Jenkins & Lind^{y} Wallis for making the Curtins & damask to Compleat them . . . 25:5:10." And on April 16, 1737, the new Senior Warden receipted for the church property "with this further difference, that the Damask Altar piece is made Use off, towards making eight Curtains for the Organ-loft."

The more perishable portion of the King's gift has disappeared in the course of time, but the more substantial, and also more important, part is still in the possession of the church. The Communion plate (two flagons, chalice and paten, receiver or alms basin) is used to-day whenever the Holy Communion is celebrated. All the five pieces were made by Joseph Allen and Mordecai Fox in London. They bear the Royal arms and are inscribed: "The Gift of His

[1] See p. 312, above, where a charge of two shillings for hooks for the Altar piece is recorded under date of September 10, 1733.

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Majesty King George II to Christ Church at Boston in New England. At the Request of His Excellency Governor Belcher 1733." [1] It was fortunate for Christ Church that the break between the church and its last pre-Revolutionary Rector, Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., came about on the 18th of April, 1775, for the church silver did not accompany him when he left Boston for Halifax in 1776, as was the fate of some other churches with loyalist rectors.

The Royal Bible and five of the fourteen Prayer Books are also left, and the Bible and one Prayer Book are shown, opened for inspection, in a case in the vestry room. The Bible is a large folio printed by John Baskett at Oxford in 1717,[2] and is one of the so-called "Vinegar Bibles." [3] It is ruled by hand with red ink throughout the book. On the outside of the front cover is the inscription: "His Majesty's Gift, To Christ Church, at Boston New England." The Royal arms, with the letters G. R., are stamped on both the front and back covers. The inscription is impressed on an inlay of leather and, a portion of the inlay having worn away, it can be seen that a lettering of some sort was originally stamped on the cover itself, but there is not enough visible to indicate what was the nature of it. Curiously enough the Royal arms are those of George I instead of George II. This can probably be explained on the supposition that when the Bible was printed in 1717 a number of copies were bound up by Royal order, the "super libros" of George I impressed, and the books deposited in the Great Wardrobe for future distribution as occasion might arise.

The book is in excellent condition but has been rebacked, evidently in accordance with instructions from the vestry which, on September 1, 1746, "Voted That the Large Church Bible of Christ Church Being out of Repare That It be Sent to London To be new Bound as Sone as posable." It was "Sent with Cap[t] Fones" [4] to London, and in the Account Book, under date of April 11, 1748, the charge appears, "To Binding ye Church Bible £2.5. Sterling at 1000 p[r] C[t] 24.15.–."

[1] This inscription is copied from the chalice. The style of the inscription on the flagons is varied slightly in two words: "Excell[ncy] Govern[r]."

[2] The imprint on the title-page to the New Testament portion is dated 1716.

[3] The title at the top of the first column on the page where the major part of the twentieth chapter of St. Luke is printed reads: "The parable of the vinegar," instead of "The parable of the vineyard."

[4] Account Book.

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Each cover has two holes near the outer edge in which, probably, silk ties were originally fastened; or it may be that they will explain the phrase in the invoice, "Strung with blue garter Ribbons." [1]

Of the five Prayer Books one is evidently the survivor of the "2. Com: Pra: Books Bound in Turkey leather" as described in the invoice. It bears the same inscription as the Bible, and like it is ruled throughout by hand in red ink. The imprint reads: "London, Printed by the Assigns of His Majesty's Printer, and of Henry Hills, deceased, MDCCXXXI. Price One Pound Five Shillings Unbound." The other four are a part of the "12 Com. Pray. books fol. bound in Calf Gilt & fillited." Of these, two, the most important and most used ones, have evidently been rebound, for they are somewhat cut down and the calf is of the natural color instead of dark blue like the others. Two of them form part of the four books covered by the vote of the vestry of September 17, 1733, which provided, "that the Revd Doc^{r} Cutler have the choice of four Common prayer Books the One for ye Reading-Desk and the three others for the Comunion Table." This fact is established by the presence, on the verso of the frontispiece of each one, of the inscription "For the Use of the Altar A. D. 1733" in the handwriting of the clerk of the vestry, Francis Beteilhe. Another is one of the two books which were reserved at the same time for the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. It has on the verso of the frontispiece the words "For the Use of His Excellency the Governor A. D. 1733" also in Beteilhe's handwriting.[2]

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[1] A copy of the Vinegar Bible recently offered in the catalogue of an English antiquarian bookseller is described as follows: "The Holy Bible, with frontispiece and vignettes by Vander Gucht, ruled in red, 2 vols. roy. folio, Large Paper Copy, specially bound for King George I, in full dark green morocco, broad tooled ornamental borders, back panels containing his monogram, G.R., surmounted by Crown, royal arms stamped in gold on covers, silk ties, with tassels of gold wire (some defective), very fine copy. Oxford, J. Baskett, 1717."

[2] Francis Beteilhe was chosen clerk of the vestry January 15, 1733, and filled the position for some six years, the latest entry in the Records in his handwriting and over his signature being under date of July 30, 1739. On March 19, 1733, the vestry, "perceiving the irregular Order in keeping Records of our Meetings (as it too plainly appears by the foregoing pages) It is now Voted That all the Subscriptions Books & Papers be deliver^{d} to Said Fr Beteilhe To make a faithfull & Exact Copy of all our Votes and Also make a Sett of Books of Accompts that we and our Successors might for the future transact & manage the Church-Affairs with more Ease, Satisfaction and evident benefit to Christ Church." As a result of this vote all the earliest records of Christ Church, as they appear

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The imprint is the same as that of the first book described with the exception of the last line which reads, "Price Eight Shillings Unbound." [1] The first and taller book is evidently simply a large paper copy, for the original text-page and typographical details are the same in all five.

But their chief interest lies in the fact that they are excellent examples of the adaptation of the Church of England Prayer Book to the changed conditions which followed the American Revolution. In looking at the rebound folio copy which is on exhibition, opened at that part of the Morning Service where the prayer for the King has been changed to a prayer for the President of the United States, it is not unnatural to regard it as a manifestation of patriotism. As a matter of fact, however, the changes in all the five books are simply evidences of a conformity to the Liturgy of the American Episcopal Church which made possible a continued use of handsome and legible copies of the Book of Common Prayer hallowed by association and long use.[2]

In the few Episcopal churches which still had rectors after the

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in the first books of Vestry Records, Proprietors' Records, and Account Books, are in Beteilhe's characteristic and legible handwriting. Many, if not all, of the originals from which the transcripts were made are preserved, neatly docketed, among the church's files. Beteilhe was also active in the early days of Free Masonry in Boston. I am indebted to Mr. Melvin M. Johnson, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, for the following account. The Provincial Grand Lodge was founded on July 30, 1733, "receiving on the same evening a petition for the organization of a particular Lodge which original petition is still in our archives. Francis Beteilhe joined the Lodge on July 24, 1734. Just when he became Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge we do not know, but it was prior to June 24, 1737. We know also that in 1736 he was Secretary of the First Lodge in Boston, and we have his original records during his incumbency of that office." He continued as secretary of the Grand Lodge until August 7, 1739, and of the First Lodge until December 26, 1739. Cf. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for the years: 1871, p. 288; 1883, pp. 158, 159; 1899, p. 72; also Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlix, 289.

[1] As a matter of accuracy it should be stated that a slip of paper has been pasted over the major part of the imprint in the volume which is shown in the vestry room, with the obvious intention of covering the Royal arms, which were employed after the manner of a printer's device above the imprint.

[2] The Rev. Henry Burroughs in his address on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, December 29, 1873, and the Rev. Charles W. Duane in a similar address on the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary, December 29, 1898, refer briefly to the adaptation of the Prayer Books to the American Liturgy.

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Declaration of Independence in 1776, difficulties immediately arose as to the use of what were termed the "State Prayers" — that is, those for the King and Royal Family. As clergymen of the Church of England who had taken the "Oath of the Kings Supremacy" the ministers felt constrained to read the State Prayers, but in view of the temper of the times this was manifestly impossible without creating disturbances, or even riots. They were therefore confronted with the dilemma of either abandoning their obligations by omitting the prayers, or else having their churches closed, divine service given up entirely, and their congregations scattered among the patriotic Congregational churches. The Rev. Mr. Parker of Trinity Church, who was for a time the only Episcopal clergyman in Boston, met the issue promptly and laid a statement before the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church on July 18, 1776, to the effect that having been publicly interrupted when reading the prayers for the King on the previous Sunday, and having been threatened with interruptions and insults in the future if the prayers were read, he was apprehensive that some damage would accrue to the proprietors of the church if he continued to carry on the service in the usual manner. The vestry after some debate concluded that it would be necessary either to close the church or to omit part of the Liturgy. Accordingly they voted that Mr. Parker be desired to continue to officiate and requested that he should omit that portion of the service which related to the King, and this vote was concurred in a few days later by the proprietors.[1]

Christ Church was without a minister from 1775 until the advent of the Rev. Stephen Lewis in 1778.[2] At a vestry meeting held March 31, 1779, it was "Voted. That the Reverend M[r] Lewis be desired to prepare a proper form of Prayer for the Congress of the United States, for the Several States, and for their Success in the present important Contest to be used daily in the Church. Voted. That the

[1] W. S. Perry, Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, iii. 101–103.

[2] "Since the War two Clergymen have settled in this State, Revd. Mr. Lewis, who was Chaplain in Burgoyne's Regiment of light Dragoons, left that Service and came to this Town in 1778 and settled at Christ's Church; The other, the Revd. Mr. Fisher, who came from Annapolis in Nova Scotia in 1780 and settled in Salem" (Rev. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, to the Rev. William White of Philadelphia, June 21, 1784, ibid. iii. 57).

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Church Wardens together with Dr Foster be a Committee to wait on the Revd Mr Lewis with a Copy of the foregoing vote." The records contain no further reference to this action, nor do the five Prayer Books show any evidence of alterations which can be regarded as the result of this Vote.

After the close of the Revolutionary War a series of conventions was held, either of the Episcopal churches in individual States or those of several States acting in conjunction, all working toward two ends: the establishment of an American Episcopate, and a Liturgy appropriate for Episcopal churches now finally detached from their relationship to the Church of England. The connection of Christ Church with the conventions which were held in Boston is shown by the following extracts from the Proprietors' Record Book (1724–1806):

At a meeting of the Proprietors in this Church Sunday Augt 28th 1785 when Divine Service was over in the afternoon being Warned from the Desk The Church Wardens informed the proprietors they had rec^{d} a Letter from the Revd Samuel Parker one of the Committee of the Episcopal Clergy in Convention held at Boston Septem^{r} 8th 1784 & empowering them to Call a Convention of the Episcopal Churches in this and the Neighboring States at such time & place as they shall judge most necessary and Convenient. Said Committee therefore requested the Wardens of this Church to propose to their Members to Choose one or more of their members to attend a Convention to be held at Boston on Wednesday the 7th Day of Septem^{r} Next then to deliberate on Some Method for preserving Uniformity in divine Worship & adopting such measures as may tend to the Welfare & Prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the American States. The Proprietors taking the same into Consideration voted to send two Members Viz: Voted that Thomas Ivers Esqr and James Sherman one of the Wardens be desiered to go as members of Christ Church for the Purposes aforesaid. Recorded by me James Sherman.

Nearly a year later it was reported:

At a meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church on Thursday Augt 24th 1786. The Delegates appointed at a Proprietors meeting held Augt 28th 1785 to meet in a Convention to be held at Boston on Wednesday the 7th day of September 1785 then to deliberate on some method for preserving uniformity in divine worship and adopting such measures as may tend to the Welfare & Prosperity of the Episcopal Church in

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the American States laid before the Proprietors the Proceedings of the Convention for their approbation. Voted To Except the Alterations and Amendments in the Liturgy by the Convention and to adopt the same as Trinity Church and to begin Sunday Augt 27th.[1] Recorded be me

JAMES SHERMAN.

It is possible that some of the alterations, made by hand, which can be seen in the copy of the Prayer Book exhibited in the church, may have followed this vote of the proprietors, but a comparison of the changes which were made with those recommended by the Boston Convention would seem to indicate that the actual revision was at a later period. It can only be definitely stated that while some of the changes could have been made at this time, others could not have been until the autumn of 1789 at the earliest.

At a General Convention held at Philadelphia in September–October, 1785, in which seven States were represented but to which New England sent no delegates, a revision of the Prayer Book was undertaken, resulting in what is known as the "Proposed Book," published in 1786. This book encountered a very general opposition and it remained for the General Convention of October, 1789, at Philadelphia (the first convention sitting with two Houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies) to prepare what was

[1] "These alterations were introduced into the services of Trinity Church by the Rev. Mr. Parker on the first Sunday in August, 1786" (W. McGarvey, Liturgiae Americanae, or the Book of Common Prayer as used in the United States of America, 1895, p. xxii). This statement was apparently made on the authority of a letter written January 28, 1788, to Bishop Seabury of Connecticut by the Rev. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church (Journals of General Conventions, iii. 365). I am, however, indebted to Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Clerk of Trinity Church, for the information that on July 27, 1786, the vestry voted to adopt the alterations in the Liturgy as proposed by the Boston Convention. On July 30 the Proprietors of Trinity also voted to adopt the alterations and provided that the service should "be performed conformable thereto on the second Sunday in August." Cf. Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 309. More than four years later at a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church, November 30, 1790, it was voted that in order that the congregation should have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the new form of Prayer agreed upon by the General Convention at Philadelphia in October, 1789, it should be used in the church on Sundays and Holy-days from December 12, 1790, to January 3, 1791, when the Proprietors were to hold a meeting. At the Proprietors' meeting held on January 16, 1791 (adjourned from January 3), "The Proprietors also expressed their Approbation of the Constitution & form of Prayer framed & revised by the general Convention holden at Philadelphia Octor 1789."

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the first Prayer Book "according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." It was declared by the General Convention "to be the Liturgy of this Church," and was ordered to be in use from the first day of October, 1790. As a result of this action of the Convention in October, 1789, the first edition of the American Prayer Book was published in duodecimo form at Philadelphia in September, 1790, by Hall & Sellers.[1]

At a meeting of the proprietors of Christ Church held May 18, 1791, two deputies were chosen to attend a Diocesan Convention at Trinity Church on May 24th and they were authorized to accept, on behalf of the church, the Constitution and Form of Prayer as set forth by the General Convention of 1789.[2] At a subsequent meeting of the proprietors, May 26, 1791, final action was taken by the church as appears in the records: "Whereas the Wardens of this Church have by the Power Delegated to them from the Proprietors of Said Church attended at the Convention holden at Trinity Church 24th day of May 1791 acceded to and adopted the Constitution and Form of Prayer Set forth by the general Convention holden at Philadelphia in October 1789 tis now Voted That the Said Form of Prayer be used in this Church on Whitsunday next."

The Christ Church Prayer Books have a peculiar historical interest inasmuch as they represent four distinct phases, and several periods, of alteration. First, the Prayer Book exhibited in the Church, Folio 1,[3] which was evidently the first to undergo alteration, was changed by hand throughout and with no insertion of printed matter. It was brought into general, though not absolute,

[1] The Pennsylvania Gazette for Wednesday, September 8, 1790, contains an advertisement of the Book of Common Prayer as "Just published, and now Selling, at W. and D. Hall's Book-store, in Market-Street." A certificate of the Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania which appears in the advertisement recites, "that on the Seventh Day of August in the Fifteenth Year of the Independence . . . William Hall, of the said District hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the Rights Whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the Words following, to wit: . . ." Then follows the detailed title of the Prayer Book. This advertisement appears again three times each, in September and October, and also on November 3.

[2] Proprietors' Records (1724–1806).

[3] For convenience in description the several Prayer Books (with the exception of the large paper copy) are indicated as Folios 1, 2, 3, and 4, the numbering being based on the probable order of alteration. The large paper copy is called Folio 5.

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harmony with the first edition of 1790, so far as three of the principal offices of the Church are concerned, — that is, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Litany. In some respects it corresponds with the Proposed Book of 1786, but it is impossible to say whether this comes about by intent or simply results from the difficulty of making some of the alterations authorized by the 1790 edition, notably additional introductory sentences and two of the Canticles for Evening Prayer.[1] From internal evidence the changes can probably be assigned to the end of 1789 or the early part of 1790.

The verso of the frontispiece has the words "For the Use of the Altar A.D. 1733" written by Francis Beteilhe.[2] On the title-page the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" and the Royal arms have been pasted over with slips of paper. The Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and the Tables of Lessons are left untouched. In the Morning Prayer the second form of the Absolution is lacking,[3] and one of the Versicles and the last four verses of the Venite are pasted over. In the Te Deum the few variations in wording from the English form are made with a pencil. All the verses of the Benedictus with the exception of the first four; the repetition of the Lord's Prayer; and all but the last of the Versicles which precede the Collects, are pasted over. The Prayer for the King is altered both by pasting and the use of a pen. The words "behold and bless thy servant the President of the United States and all others in authority" are written on the slip which conceals the words "our most gracious sovereign Lord King George," and in general in this prayer the necessary changes are made in ink. The Prayers for the Royal Family are pasted over, and in the Prayer for the Clergy the pen is again employed.[4]

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[1] The Bonum est confiteri and Benedic, anima mea, which were neither in the English Prayer Book nor in the Proposed Book, but are in the American Book of 1790 and subsequent editions.

[2] This inscription is found in Folios 1 and 4. The inscription "For the Use of His Excellency the Governor A.D. 1733" is in Folio 2.

[3] Neither the English Book nor the Proposed Book has the second form of the Absolution which appears in all editions of the American Book both in Morning and Evening Prayer.

[4] It is not unlikely that these changes were made by the Rev. William Montague, Rector of Christ Church 1786–1792. A comparison of the handwriting in the volume with several manuscript sermons written at about this time by Mr. Montague, kindly provided for inspection by his grandson, Mr. Henry W.

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The Evening Service is corrected in a similar manner, and the Athanasian Creed, which in the English book follows the Evening Prayer, is abolished by pasting two leaves together. In the Litany the petitions relating to the King, Royal Family, Lords of Council, etc., are pasted over, and the American petition for Christian Rulers and Magistrates written in ink on the first slip of paper. The Communion Service is left untouched notwithstanding its several references to the King. There are no other changes through the book particularly worthy of note, except that the Commination Service and the special services for November 5, January 30, May 29, and June 11 have been removed.[1] The Thirty-Nine Articles and Constitution and Canons are left untouched in their proper place at the end of the volume.

Next, Folio 2 represents the second phase of alteration. This volume has been rebound and rather badly trimmed in the process. On the front cover is an inlay in red leather with the words "Christ's Church Boston 1809." While it is probable that the new covers may be of this period, the alterations within the book are of 1792. A second edition of the first Prayer Book was published in 1791, also in duodecimo form.[2] In addition to the two complete editions, a reprint in folio and in quarto "of the parts in general use" was issued in 1792.[3] This partial folio reprint was obviously intended for insertion in the old English folio Prayer Books which had been

Montague of Boston, shows a marked similarity, although the evidence is not sufficiently clear to warrant a positive conclusion.

[1] The Gun-powder Treason, King Charles the Martyr, King's Restoration, and the accession of George II.

[2] The Pennsylvania Gazette of Wednesday, December 28, 1791, has the following advertisement of the second edition: "Philadelphia, December 20, 1791. This Day is Published, and now Selling, At W. and D. Hall's Book-store, In Market-Street, No. 51, (Price 4/9 the single Book, 4/2 by the Dozen, 3/9 by the Hundred, bound, or 2/6 in Sheets,) A Neat Edition of the Book of Common Prayer, . . ." The advertisement then continues with the wording of the advertisement of September 8, 1790, including the certificate as to the copyright. It is repeated twice in January, 1792, and in February; once each in March and April, and three times in May. It is possible that it first appeared in the issue of December 21, 1791, but there is no copy of this issue, nor of January 4, 1792, in the files of the American Antiquarian Society.

[3] The General Convention of 1789 had instructed the Committee appointed to superintend the printing of the Prayer Book; "besides a full and complete edition of the said book, printed in folio or octavo, or in both, to have an edition published, to contain only the parts in general use and the Collects of the day,

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in use in the older churches.[1] It comprised the Table of Lessons, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, Communion Service, Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth,[2] Ten Selections of Psalms, Portions of Psalms for Holy-days to be used in place of the Venite, and a few hymns.[3] The reprint is without pagination but has signatures, [A]–I, K–Q, in twos, or thirty-two leaves.

Up to the present time, so far as the writer is aware, the time and place of publication and the names of the publishers have never been ascertained. In his bibliography of the standard editions of the American Book the Rev. Dr. Gibson wrote:[4]

An unique copy of this folio partial edition, — corresponding exactly in the portions given, in typography and spelling, to the duodecimo editions of 1790 and 1791, in its original blue paper cover, and containing sixty-four printed pages — may be seen in the Rector's library of the late Dr. Edson at Lowell, Mass.[5] A copy also of the quarto partial edition is preserved in the American Antiquarian Library, at Worcester,

with references to the Epistles and Gospels" (Journals of General Conventions, i. 112).

[1] The Rev. Dr. Frederick Gibson in his Bibliographical Sketch of the Standard Editions of the American Prayer Book (in Liturgiae Americanae, p. lxi) mentions folio copies of English Prayer Books, altered, by insertion of printed matter, to conform to the American Liturgy, in St. John's Parish, Baltimore and Harford Counties, Md. (now in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore), St. John's Church, Portsmouth, N. H., Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., and Christ Church, Boston. Both the Maryland Diocesan Library copy (London, 1718) and the Christ Church Cambridge copy (London, 1766) were altered by the insertion of the partial folio of 1792. The Cambridge church also has a folio Prayer Book (Cambridge, England, 1757) in which alterations were made by hand in the Morning and Evening Prayer and Litany, although, curiously enough, the State Prayers were left untouched in the first two services.

[2] For use "Yearly on the First Thursday in November, or on such other Day as shall be appointed by the Civil Authority."

[3] The hymns were six in number; two each for Christmas and Easter Day; one each for Good Friday and Whitsunday.

[4] Liturgiae Americanae, p. lxi.

[5] Through the courtesy of the Rev. Appleton Grannis, Rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, I have been able to examine this copy which is still preserved in the Rectory library. It is a tall copy, 9⅜ by 15¾ inches, in perfect condition. On the fly-leaf is written "Maria Parkers 1840" and in a different handwriting "Partial Edition of 1790." "Maria Parkers 1840" is also written on the inside of the back cover. The Rectory library was mainly formed by the late Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson when Rector of St. Anne's Church. Mrs. Edson (Rebecca Parker) and Maria Parker were daughters of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker,

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Mass., and this copy was given to that library by the famous early printer Isaiah Thomas, . . . and he affirmed that it had been printed by the old firm of Thomas & Andrews. These partial editions have no title, publisher, or date on them.

As a matter of fact, however, the American Antiquarian Society possesses a fine copy of the partial folio reprint, bound in boards, 9¾ by 16 inches, as well as the partial quarto reprint. The latter, which contains the book-plate of Isaiah Thomas, has written on the fly-leaf: "Morning & Evening Prayer. Printed by Thomas & Andrews," in the handwriting of Isaiah Thomas. The former has on the fly-leaf: "Morning & Evening Service. Printed by Thomas & Andrews;" and at the top of signature [A] "Boston, Printed by Thomas & Andrews, 17 " also in Isaiah Thomas's handwriting.[1] The correspondence, preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, between Ebenezer T. Andrews of Thomas & Andrews, Boston, and Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, seems to indicate that Thomas & Andrews had issued proposals for printing an edition of the Prayer Book but that this project was interfered with by reason of copyright difficulties. Andrews wrote Thomas on February 5, 1792: "I spoke to Dr. Parker [of Trinity Church] about Prayer Book. He says there will be a general Convention in June, at which time the dispute about Copyright will be settled, and he thinks we had better wait until that time. He has as yet only one paper returned, which is from Newburyport and has upwards of 200 on it."[2] Then a letter from Andrews to Thomas, under date of

Rector of Trinity Church, Boston (later the second Bishop of Massachusetts), and it can be safely assumed that this copy came from Dr. Parker.

[1] These two copies appear to be identical, textually and typographically, except that in the quarto the Table of Lessons is printed horizontally on the pages instead of vertically, and the verso of Q2 has four hymns only instead of six as in the folio. The uncompleted date in the folio copy may be accounted for on the supposition that the notes in the volume were inserted at the time when Thomas presented his library to the Antiquarian Society in 1812, or later, and that his recollection as to the time of publication was not sufficiently exact to warrant his completing the date.

[2] The reason for Dr. Parker's activities and interest in the printing of the Prayer Book is clearly shown by the following extracts. At a convention in Boston, January 26, 1791, it was "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that it is expedient that there be printed an edition of the alterations in the Service of the Church, contained in the Form of Prayer set forth by the General Convention;" and "Resolved, That the Committee chosen yesterday,

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March 18, 1792, shows that a plan of printing the "parts in general use" had been decided on:

I want three bundles of six reams of your bible paper. Have agreed with Dr. Parker to print some extracts from the folio Prayer Book, to complete some folio Prayer Books, belonging to the Church etc. and at the same time shall print some in quarto for sale, as the extracts contain almost all of the Prayer Book which is altered. — these, I doubt not, will sell well, and induce our subscribers for the Prayer Book (of which there are I believe 2 or 3000) to wait until after the Convention meets, when Dr. Parker thinks we had better print an octavo instead of a 12 mo.[1]

Finally, an advertisement of Thomas & Andrews which first appeared in the Columbian Centinel of Wednesday, June 27, 1792, of the partial edition in quarto and "A few sets of the same, in Folio," establishes the exact time of publication.[2]

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be requested to procure the same to be printed, and to forward one copy to each Congregation." A few months later at a Convention held in Boston, May 24, 1791, it was "Resolved, That the Form of Prayer set forth by the General Convention, be adopted and used in this Church." "Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. Bass, Rev. Dr. Parker, and Rev. Mr. Fisher, be a Committee to confer with any Printers on the printing of an edition of the Common Prayer, this day adopted by the Convention; and, in case any Printer shall undertake it, the said Committee is requested to inspect the Press" (Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Massachusetts, from the Year 1784 to the Year 1828 inclusive, Printed by order of the Convention of 1848, pp. 29, 32, 33). Dr. Bass was settled at Newburyport, Mr. Fisher at Salem, and it seems probable that the active supervision of the work would have fallen to the lot of Dr. Parker of Boston.

[1] I am indebted to the American Antiquarian Society for permission to print these letters from the Isaiah Thomas Papers in the Society's library; to our associate Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester for his assistance; and to Mrs. Mary R. Reynolds of the Antiquarian Society, whose interest and assiduous research in the files of the Thomas correspondence have resulted in the fact of the publishers and place of imprint being established.

[2] The advertisement, which also appeared in the Columbian Centinel of July 4, 18, and 25, is as follows:

EPISCOPAL PRAYER BOOK.

Just published, in Quarto, on a large type, and to be sold by THOMAS *and* ANDREWS, FAUST'S *statue, No.* 45, NEWBURY-STREET,

THE Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Occasional Prayers, Communion Service, and selections of Psalms, with the Table of Lessons, and Calendar of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, as revised and set forth by the General Con-

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The title-page of Folio 2 is unaltered and the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and first leaf of the Kalendar are left in the book, but the succeeding leaves of the Kalendar have been cut out. Then the "parts in general use" are inserted in their proper places throughout the book, the corresponding English portions having been removed. Also the Athanasian Creed and the four special services have been cut out, but not the Commination Service. Aside from the evidence of the height and width of the text-page,[1] quality of the paper and the signatures, this reprint can be easily identified by reason of several typographical peculiarities found only in the first Book.[2]

There is one marked variation from the 1790 edition which occurs in the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings where thirteen prayers are lacking in the reprint. This omission is partially offset, however, by leaving in the book the English form of Prayers and Thanksgivings where practically all of the prayers can be found.[3]

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vention of said Church, held at *Philadelphia*, in October, 1789, and now used by the Churches of that denomination in this Commonwealth. *Also*,

A few sets of the same, in Folio, price *Three Shillings and Nine Pence*, by which the old Prayer Book, of that size, may be made to answer to the revised form.

June 27, 1792.

[1] The text-page of the partial folio, 1792, measures roughly 6½ by 11¼ inches; the text-page of the full folio, 1795, 7⅞ by 13¾ inches.

[2] That is, the first edition of the Prayer Book, both the issues of 1790 and 1791, as differentiated from the first Standard Prayer-Book of 1793. The peculiarities referred to are in the Apostles Creed where the words "[He descended into Hell]" are italicized and placed between brackets. This was corrected by the General Convention of 1792. Also in the Communion Service in the Prayer of Oblation which has the words "which we now offer unto thee" in small capitals; and in the Invocation in the phrase "thy Word and Holy Spirit" where "word" is spelled without the initial capital. In the 1793 Standard the situation is exactly reversed; the phrase in the Oblation being entirely in lower case, and "word" being spelled generally, though not invariably, with an initial capital. Also in the first petition in the Litany, "O God the Father, in Heaven," the 1790 book has a comma after "Father," while in the 1793 Standard the comma is placed after the word "God." There are also several minor points of difference which are not sufficiently important to be noted in detail.

[3] The differences, if any, in eleven of the prayers are slight, the spirit and purport being unchanged. The prayer in the standard American Book "In Time of Great Sickness and Mortality" and the prayer of thanksgiving "For Deliverance from great Sickness and Mortality" are materially different in wording from the corresponding prayers in the English Book. The latter are headed respectively, "In the time of any common Plague or Sickness" and "For De-

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In the Table of Lessons for July, signature A2, entered against the fourth day of the month are the words "Civil and Religious Liberty" as in the Proposed Book, but signature A does not correspond with this book. The 1792 partial folio does not include the three forms of Baptismal Services — that is, Public and Private Baptism of Infants, and Baptism of those of Riper Years; and accordingly in Folio 2 the English services are left in the book. As in Folio 1 the Thirty-Nine Articles and Constitution and Canons are found at the end of the volume.

Then in Folio 3 we find the third phase of alteration, probably made in 1795 or at all events soon after that year. In 1793 the first Standard Prayer Book[1] was published in octavo form by Hugh Gaine of New York, and in 1795 the first full folio edition of the American Prayer Book was issued, also by Gaine.[2] Various por-

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liverance from the Plague, or other common Sickness." As the English Book of Common Prayer was established, substantially in its present form, by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 the reason for the specific reference to the Plague is obvious. Why the thirteen prayers should have been omitted in the partial edition cannot be explained.

[1] The terminology employed by the Rev. Dr. Gibson in his Bibliographical Sketch of the Prayer Book is followed here. The Book authorized by the General Convention of 1789, and ordered to be in force after October 1, 1790, is referred to as the first edition, including both the 1790 and 1791 issues. The Prayer Book authorized by the General Convention of 1792, and published in 1793, was the first Standard Book, and was so established by the Third Canon passed in the General Convention of 1801. The Book in use at the present time is the seventh Standard and eighth edition of the authorized American Prayer Book.

[2] Thomas & Andrews published a complete edition of the Prayer Book in 1794. It was advertised in the Columbian Centinel of Wednesday, April 23, 1794, as "Just Published, In large 12mo. on a new fair type, price 5s 3 single, and 4s 6 by the dozen." There is a copy of this edition in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, and also of the Thomas & Andrews edition of 1800.

The following chronological list will prove useful:

1785 Sept.–Oct.	Proposed Book prepared by General Convention at Philadelphia.
1786	Proposed Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo.
1789	Proposed Book reprinted for J. Debrett, London, 12mo. (The Proposed Book was not generally accepted and apparently was very little used.)
1789 Sept.–Oct.	The English Liturgy revised for the use of the American Church by General Convention at Philadelphia.
1790 Sept.	First edition of the American Prayer Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo.

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tions of this 1795 edition in folio of the Standard Book were inserted in their proper places in Folio 3,[1] following in a general way the method employed in Folio 2 with the 1792 partial folio, and adding substantially the same services. Whether these portions were removed from a completed book or some extra copies of the signatures desired were run off it is impossible to determine. The lack of sequence in the signatures shows, however, that there was no separate partial edition issued as in 1792, where the signatures are consecutive.[2]

This volume (Folio 3) has some peculiarities of its own. On the title-page the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" are covered over. The Act for Uniformity has been removed, but the English Kalendar and Table of Lessons are left in, and the American Table does not appear. The Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings agree with the first edition of 1790 and the 1793 Standard Book.[3] The American form of the three Baptismal Services which differ only slightly from the English services follows the Commun-

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1791 Dec.	Second issue of First Prayer Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo.
1792 June	Reprint of "parts in general use" in folio and quarto by Thomas & Andrews, Boston.
1792. Sept.	Prayer Book revised by General Convention at New York.
1793	First Standard Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York, 8vo. Also an edition published by Gaine in 12mo.
1794 April	Prayer Book published by Thomas & Andrews, Boston, 12mo. Also a few copies advertised in 8vo.
1794	Another edition of Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York, 12mo.
1795	First full folio American Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York.

[1] Through the courtesy of Mr. Horace G. Wadlin I have been able to examine the copy of the 1795 folio in the collection of the late Josiah H. Benton, which enabled me to verify absolutely these portions inserted in Folio 3 as being part of the 1795 issue.

[2] Including the same subject matter (the Table of Lessons, Baptismal Services, and Thanksgiving Day Service being excluded) the signatures in Folio 2 are B–I, K–L1, M–Q; in Folio 3, A–D, verso T2–U, X, Gg2–Ii, Kk1.

[3] One variation from the Occasional Prayers in the 1790, 1791, and 1792 editions, as well as in the present Standard Book may be noted here. The prayer "For Malefactors after Condemnation" is headed "For a Malefactor after Condemnation" in the 1795 folio, and it is worded throughout in the singular instead of plural form. This seems to be peculiar to the 1795 folio. It is not found in Gaine's 8vo edition of 1793 and 12mo edition of 1794, nor in the Thomas & Andrews 1794 edition.

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ion Service.[1] The ten Selections of Psalms and the Portions of Psalms for Holy-Days precede the English Psalter, but the hymns which follow the Portions of Psalms in the partial folio 1792 are not found in the 1795 edition. The book ends with the Service for the Consecration of Bishops, the Thirty-Nine Articles, Constitution and Canons having been cut out.

Finally, Folio 4 and the large-paper copy furnish an interesting variation from the other three folios, since their alterations are made by a curious combination of the partial folio 1792 employed in Folio 2 and the full folio, 1795, used in Folio 3. They may perhaps be most clearly described by considering them in their relation to each other, designating the large-paper copy as Folio 5.

The title-page of Folio 4 has the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" pasted over; the title-page of Folio 5 is unaltered. Folio 4 lacks the Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer, but has the first leaf of the English Kalendar; Folio 5 has the Act but no portion of the Kalendar. Both have the American Table of Lessons from the partial folio 1792, and Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, and Prayers and Thanksgivings from the 1795 folio. In Folio 4 the Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth precedes the Epistles and Gospels; in Folio 5 it precedes the Morning Prayer. Both the Athanasian Creed and Commination Service have been removed from Folio 4, but the Creed only from Folio 5. Folio 4 has only the Communion Service from the 1795 folio, while Folio 5 has from the same source the Communion Service and the three Baptismal Services, but both have the English Baptismal services left in. Folio 5 alone has one leaf (signature Gg) of the Family Prayers from the 1795 folio.[2] Folio 4 has the ten Selections of Psalms before the English Psalter, and after it the Portions of Psalms to be used in place of the Venite all from the partial folio of 1792. Folio 5 has before the Psalter the ten Selections and the Portions of Psalms from the 1795 folio, and after the Psalter the Portions of Psalms from the 1792 partial folio.[3] Folio 4, like Folio 3, has the Thirty-Nine Articles,

[1] The "Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth" was not inserted in Folio 3, doubtless due to an oversight, as it is found in Folio 4 and Folio 5.

[2] The Family Prayers in the Benton copy begin on the verso of Ff2 and end on the verso of Gg.

[3] There are no textual variations between the ten Selections of Psalms and the

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Constitution and Canons cut out; Folio 5, like Folios 1 and 2, has them left untouched.

As to the probable period of alteration, it can only be said that it could not have been prior to 1795, but why in that case portions of the partial folio of 1792 were used in each book cannot be explained. Both volumes show rather less signs of wear than the other three, although in Folio 4 it was found necessary to strengthen the edges of many of the 1795 leaves by pasting on strips of paper. The paper itself seems somewhat lighter than that in Folio 5, but this may simply be an apparent effect produced from more constant use. However, Folio 4 has never had to be rebound and is tooled exactly like Folio 3, although the color of the leather, as it appears now, is lighter.

In conclusion it may be queried why the changes which were made by the insertion of printed matter were confined to certain services. The answer undoubtedly is that in the main the changes were limited to those services of the Church which would be read either at the reading-desk or at the Altar. In the Marriage, Baptismal, and Funeral Services it is obvious that a folio Prayer Book would not be very practical, on account of the places and manner in which they are conducted. Undoubtedly then as now the officiating clergyman would commonly use a small book which could easily be held in the hand. While it is true that two of the Books contain the Baptismal Services in folio, it will be noticed that they are from the full folio of 1795, and that the partial folio of 1792, which was only intended to harmonize the old English Prayer Books with the American Book of Common Prayer, did not contain these services.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

DIARY OF THE REV. THOMAS PRINCE, 1737

Mr. Brigham has sent down to us from the American Antiquarian Society an interleaved copy of Ames's Almanac for 1737 containing manuscript entries. It is nowhere stated in the volume who made these entries, but the minute handwriting of the Rev. Thomas

Portions of Psalms to be used in place of the Venite as found in the 1792 and 1795 folio editions. They can however easily be distinguished both by the typographical differences and by the signatures; also the six hymns which follow the Portions of Psalms in the 1792 edition do not appear in the 1795 edition.

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Prince is unmistakable, besides which internal evidence makes it certain that he was the writer. Mr. Tuttle has kindly transcribed the entries. The title-page of the almanac is lacking, but on a fly-leaf is written: "William Lincoln from E Torrey Esq."

It is, of course, quite unnecessary to give a sketch of so distinguished a man as Mr. Prince, but a brief statement will be useful in clearing up references to various members of his family, his relatives, and other persons alluded to in the Diary. His father, Samuel Prince, was born in May, 1649, was twice married, and died July 3, 1728. By his first wife, Martha Barstow, there were several children, of whom it is necessary to mention only Martha, who married Ezra Bourne of Sandwich. Their son, the Rev. Joseph Bourne (H. C. 1722), was the "cousin Joseph Bourn" of the Diary.

By his second wife, Mercy Hinckley, a daughter of Governor Thomas Hinckley and Mary (Smith) Hinckley of Plymouth Colony, Samuel Prince had ten children, of whom four died before 1737. The other six, all of whom are mentioned in the Diary, were as follows: (1) Thomas Prince, the diarist, born 1687, H. C. 1707, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, 1718–1758, died October 22, 1758; (2) Mary Prince, born 1689, married the Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1706) of Middleborough, died October 1, 1771;[1] (3) Joseph Prince, born 1695, died at Stratford, Connecticut, December 4, 1747;[2] (4) Moses Prince, born 1697, died at Antigua, July 6, 1745; (5) Nathan Prince, born 1698, H. C. 1718, Tutor at Harvard College 1723–1742, Fellow 1728–1742, in which year he lost his position on account of intemperance, a heated controversy ensuing between him and the Corporation, later took Episcopal orders, died at Rattan, July 25, 1748;[3] (6) Mercy Prince, born 1700, died August 9, 1748.

Elizabeth Prince, a sister of Samuel Prince, born 1640, died May 12, 1727, married Josiah Loring; and their son Jonathan Loring

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[1] The Rev. Peter and Mary (Prince) Thacher had nine children, of whom the following are mentioned in the Diary; (1) Mary; (2) Mercy, who married Nathaniel Foster of Plymouth; (3) Rev. Peter (H. C. 1737); (4) Samuel; (5) Susanna.

[2] Capt. Joseph Prince went from Sandwich, Mass., to Stratford, Ct., in 1736, and in 1743 joined the Episcopal Church: see S. Orcutt, History of Stratford and Bridgeport, i. 350, 352, ii. 1274.

[3] "We hear from Rattan, that the Rev. Mr. *Nathan Prince* died at that Island the 25th of July last" (Boston News Letter, October 6, 1748, p. 2/1).

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(born 1674, died October 15, 1752) was the "cousin Loring" of the Diary.

On October 30, 1719, the Rev. Thomas Prince married Deborah Denny, who died June 1, 1766. Of their nine children, only four reached maturity, namely: (1) Thomas Prince, born 1722, H. C. 1740, died September 30, 1748;[1] (2) Deborah Prince, born 1723, died July 20, 1744; (3) Mercy Prince, born 1725, died May 18, 1752; (4) Sarah Prince, born 1728, married Lieutenant-Governor Moses Gill, died August 5, 1771.[2] Mrs. Prince's brothers, Samuel Denny (born 1689, died June 2, 1772) and Daniel Denny (born 1694, married Rebecca Jones, died April 16, 1760), are also mentioned.[3]

That clergymen figure largely in the Diary is to be expected, the following being mentioned: Rev. Hull Abbot (H. C. 1720), Charlestown; Rev. John Adams (H. C. 1721), at one time at Newport, Rhode Island; Rev. James Allen (H. C. 1710), Brookline; Rev. Nathaniel Appleton (H. C. 1712), Cambridge; Rev. Joseph Baxter (H. C. 1693), Medfield; Rev. Joseph Bourne (H. C. 1722), Mashpee; Rev. Jonathan Bowman (H. C. 1724), Dorchester; Rev. John Brown (H. C. 1714), Haverhill; Rev. Mather Byles (H. C. 1725), Hollis Street Church, Boston; Rev. Charles Chauncy (H. C. 1721), First Church (Old Brick Church), Boston; Rev. Samuel Checkley (H. C. 1715), New South Church, Boston; Rev. Ames Cheever (H. C. 1707), Manchester; Rev. Nathaniel Clap (H. C. 1690), Newport, Rhode Island; Rev. Benjamin Colman (H. C. 1692), Brattle Street Church, Boston; Rev. William Cooper (H. C. 1712), Brattle Street Church, Boston; Rev. John Cotton (H. C. 1710), Newton; Rev. Ward Cotton (H. C. 1729), Hampton, New Hampshire; Rev. Samuel Dexter (H. C. 1720), Dedham; Rev. Thomas Foxcroft (H. C. 1714), First Church (Old Brick Church), Boston; Rev. Joshua Gee (H. C. 1717), Second Church (North or Old North Church), Boston; Rev. Ellis Gray (H. C. 1734), New Brick Church, Boston; Rev. William Hobby (H. C. 1725), Reading; Rev. Edward Holyoke

[1] "On Friday Night last died here in the 27th Year of his Age, of a consumptive Illness, *Thomas Prince*, jun. M. A. only Son of the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Prince* of this Town. His Death is very much lamented by his Relations and Friends. His Corpse was inter'd Yesterday with great Respect" (Boston News Letter, October 6, 1748, p. 2/1).

[2] See the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 375–384.

[3] C. C. Denny, Denny Genealogy, pp. 20–21, 79.

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(H. C. 1705), Marblehead, later President of Harvard College; Rev. William Hooper, West Church, later at Trinity Church, Boston; Rev. Israel Loring (H. C. 1701), Sudbury; Rev. Samuel Mather (H. C. 1723), Second Church (North or Old North Church), Boston; Rev. Jonathan Mills (H. C. 1723), Bellingham; Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton (H. C. 1721), New York, later at the New Brick Church, Boston; Rev. Daniel Perkins (H. C. 1717), Bridgewater; Rev. Peter Reynolds (H. C. 1720), Enfield, Connecticut; Rev. Timothy Ruggles (H. C. 1707), Rochester; Rev. Joseph Seccombe (H. C. 1731), Kingston, New Hampshire; Rev. Joseph Sewall (H. C. 1707), Old South Church, Boston; Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1696), New North Church, Boston; Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1706), Middleborough; Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1737), later at Attleborough;[1] Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth (H. C. 1690), First Church, Boston, later President of Harvard College; Rev. Nathaniel Walter (H. C. 1729), Roxbury; Rev. Nehemiah Walter (H. C. 1684), Roxbury;[2] Rev. John Webb (H. C. 1708), New North Church, Boston; Rev. William Welsteed (H. C. 1716), New Brick Church, Boston; Rev. William Williams (H. C. 1705), Weston. It will be observed that with the exception of William Hooper, who was a Scotchman, every one of these clergymen was a graduate of Harvard.

DIARY OF THE REV. THOMAS PRINCE, 1737[3]

1737. Jan. 1 ♄ a Hugh Hall[4] & Wm Stoddard Esq^s, wth Mr Gouge,[5] Dorrel[6] &c c^m to Des^r me to assist in Gath^g ym into a Ch at ye w^ly Part of ye Town next ☽ p.

[1] Peter Thacher (H. C. 1696) and Peter Thacher (H. C. 1706) were cousins; while Peter Thacher (H. C. 1737) was the son of Peter Thacher (H. C. 1706) of Middleborough.

[2] Nehemiah Walter was the father of Nathaniel Walter.

[3] Prince employs many abbreviations, some of which are obvious, while others are not. A list is given:

a = A. M.
à = from
b = be
B S = Brattle Street Church
C H = First Church (Old Brick Church)
d = day
d = de = concerning
e = evening
è = out

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3 ☽ m I dine at M^r T: Hubbard's.[1]

p At 3 I met at Hugh Hall's Esq, wth R Mr Foxcroft;[2] w^r I Pray'd, R Mr Foxcroft Preached à Mat. 18. 20. yn I read y^e cov^t, to w^e 17 Lift up yr Hands & subscrib'd: R Mr Foxcroft Pray'd: & aft^r sm Discourse, I gave y^e Bless^g, & yn Mr Foxcroft & I left ym. See y^e true acc^t in y^e Boston News Letter Jan. 6.[3] Aft^r y^e Ch was gath^d, yy met & chose M^r

G L = General Lecture
L S = Lecture Sacramental
m = noon
N Ch = North Church (Second Church)
N S = New South Church
p = P. M.
r = are
R = Rev.
S Ch = Old South Church
T P = Thomas Prince
W Ch = West Church

The abbreviations used for the Boston churches are all obvious except "C H." Allusions on March 31st to the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, and on August 4th to a Quaker wedding, make it certain that the letters indicate the First Church: see pp. 342, 353 note 1, below. Mr. Prince may have chosen the letters because they were also the initial letters of the Rev. Mr. Chauncy, one of the pastors of that church; but more probably, as Mr. Tuttle suggests, they stand merely for "Church" — the First Church, as the oldest in Boston, being *the* Church.

[4] Hugh Hall (H. C. 1713): see New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 300–307.

[5] For a notice of James Gooch (born 1693), see our Publications, vi. 91. The name was spelled Gooch or Gouge indifferently.

[6] John Darrel (*d* 1746).

[1] Thomas Hubbard (H. C. 1721). He was the son of Joseph Hubbard (1676–1761), and married Mary Jackson, daughter of Jonathan Jackson and Mary (Salter) Jackson. Edward Jackson (H. C. 1726), a brother of Mrs. Thomas Hubbard, is mentioned later. Cf. Publications of this Society, viii. 251 note, 253–254 notes.

[2] Rev. Thomas Foxcroft: see p. 333, above.

[3] This account in the Boston News Letter of January 6, p. 2/1, is as follows:

Monday last in the *Afternoon*, a *New Congregational Church* was gather'd in the *Westerly Part* of *this Town*. And because the Method of gathering such Churches here, may not be known abroad; we shall give the Publick a brief Account of this particular Transaction:

A Number of Christians belonging to several Congregations in this Town judging it convenient to build a House for publick Worship in the Westerly Part thereof, and having carried on the Building to a considerable Forwardness; 13 of their Number, being Brethren in full Communion with 5 several Churches here, and 1 in full Communion with the First Church at *Cambridge*, having applied to their respective Churches, obtain'd Letters of Dismission to incorporate into a new Church by themselves: *Three* others who have not been in full Com-

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Wm Hooper for y^r Pastor: vote H^m, 6^l a week salary & 40^s more a week for Help.[1]

4 ♂ e I sup'd at M^r T Hubbard's wth Col Fulham, old Mr Hubbard,[2] cousn Loring,[3] Mr Isaac Walker & wf, & Dr Russel of Barnstable.

5 ☿ p Col Josiah Willard of Lunenburgh in my Study.

6 ♃ m I preach G Lec^r CH. Ps. 8.1.2(2) (ie½ 2) I Dine at ye Gov^e,[4] wth Judg Remington[5] & Capt T Smith of Richmond Truck House: At 10 last n^t Maj^r Vassal's House catch^d Fire, but was extinguished.[6]

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munion with any of our Churches, offering to join them, and there being no Objection either on the Account of Doctrine or Conversation, but being known and agreable to them, the others accepted their offer; and consulting with several Ministers to whom they belong'd, prepared a Covenant of Incorporation in which they could all agree: and then applied to some of those who had been their Pastors to assist them in the Solemnity of their Confederation. Accordingly on said *Monday* at 3 in the Afternoon, being the Time appointed, 2 of those Pastors, *viz.* the Rev. Mr. *Prince* and *Foxcroft*, met with the said 17 Persons; and having receiv'd the Evidence of the said Dismissions, made some Enquiries of the 3 proposed Members, and the others testifying their Acceptance of them; Mr. *Prince* the Moderator, beginning with a Premonition concerning the Solemnity of this Transaction, then proceeded to Pray. Mr. *Foxcroft* then Discoursed from Matth. XVIII. 20. Then all the Company standing up, the Moderator deliberately read their Covenant which they had written fairly in their Church Record; to which at his Proposal, all the Seventeen lift up their Hands in Token of their Consent, and then subscribed their Names. The Moderator then addressing them in such Terms as These, *We must now own you to be a true Church of CHRIST, and invested with all the Privileges belonging to such a One: And we pray You may have Grace to keep this Holy Covenant, and that You and Your Offspring may enjoy the Blessings of it.* Mr. *Foxcroft* then made the closing Prayer, and the Moderator pronounc'd the Blessing.

[1] For Rev. William Hooper, see p. 334, above. An interesting letter on the high cost of living, written by a Boston clergyman, was printed in the New England Weekly Journal of May 17, 1737. A postscript reads in part as follows:

I may here observe that . . . the *New Church* lately Gather'd in the *West* Part of *the Town* have at their first setting out highly Honoured themselves in giving Mr. *Hooper* a greater Allowance even at Present, than any other *Congregational Minister* in Town, tho' he has only Himself to maintain (p. 1/3).

[2] See p. 335 note 1, above.

[3] See pp. 332–333, above.

[4] Jonathan Belcher (H. C. 1699).

[5] Jonathan Remington (H. C. 1696).

[6] "Last Wednesday Night about Ten o'Clock the Dwelling House of Leonard Vassal, Esq; in Summer street catch'd on Fire in the Garret (occasion'd as 'tis thought) by a Negro Boy's carrying up a Candle, the Blaze of which catch'd some Cloaths which hung at the Top of the Stairs; but through the Goodness of God, and the Care and Endeavours of those that assisted, the House was saved, when in the utmost Hazard, tho' very much damaged" (New England Weekly Journal, January 11, p. 2/2–3). On Vassall's death, the house was bought by Thomas Hubbard (H. C. 1721).

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8 Sa[1] a Maj[r] Brattle[2] in my Study.

☞ p Dul & compl.

9 Su a I Preach CH. *Act. 2.38* (½ 5)

p R Mr Chancy[3] Preaches fr me at S Ch.

12 W a I Present y[e] 1st Vol of my Chronological History of New England to the Gen C[t]; viz 1. To the Gov[r]. 1. To the Council. 1. To the Speaker. 1. To the Representatives.[4]

13 Th m R M[r] Web[5] Preaches G Lec[r]

16 Su a S Ch. T P Preaches. L S.

p S Ch D[r] Sewall[6] Preaches.

17 m This morning y[e] Trees wth all y[r] Branches, Twigs & Leaves are cloath'd with Ice, fuller yn ever can be remembred, w[e] lasted sev[l] Days.

18 Tu m D[r] Sewall & wife, wth M[rs] Lydia & I. &c Dined at M[rs] Noyes's.

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[1] Throughout the Diary Prince indicates the days of the week not by their names but by their signs, as has been done in the text for the first week. These signs are now dropped, and abbreviations substituted, as follows:

☉ = Su	♂ = Tu	♃ = Th	♄ = Sa
☽ = M	☿ = W	♀ = F	

[2] William Brattle (H. C. 1722).

[3] Rev. Charles Chauncy: see p. 333, above.

[4] Prince's Chronological History of New-England bears the date M DCCXXXVI on the title-page. The dedication to Gov. Belcher, Lt.-Gov. Phips, the Council, and the Representatives, is dated November 24, 1736. It was advertised as "*Published, and ready to be deliver'd to Subscribers*" in the Boston Evening Post of January 31, 1737, p. 2/2. The presentation noted by Mr. Prince is thus recorded in the Massachusetts House Journal on January 12, 1737:

The House being informed the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Prince* was at the Door and desired Admittance, *Ordered*, That Mr. *Prince* be admitted into the House, and coming up to the Table, he addressed himself to Mr. Speaker and the House in the following manner, *viz.*

Mr. Speaker, *I most humbly present to your Honour and this Honourable House, the first Volume of my* Chronological History *of* New England, *which, at no small Expence and Pains, I have composed and published for the Instruction and Good of my Country.*

And then he made a Compliment of one of the Books to Mr. Speaker by presenting it to him, and another he presented to and for the Use of the Members of the House of Representatives, and laid it on the Table, and then withdrew (p. 107).

The Speaker was John Quincy (H. C. 1708).

[5] Rev. John Webb: see p. 334, above.

[6] Rev. Joseph Sewall: see p. 334, above. His wife, mentioned later, was Elizabeth Walley.

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19 W The Hon^bl Col John Cushing one of ye Councel, & late a Judg of ye Sup^r C^t, Dies at Scituate, æt 75.[1]

20 Th m Rev. Mr Loring[2] of Sudbury Preaches Gen Lec^r for Rev Mr Cooper.[3]

23 Su a T P Preaches. S Ch. Job. 16.22. This is ye 1st Time of Tommy's[4] going to meet^g since his sickness.

p Dr Sewall Preaches. S Ch. Pro. 1.23

25 Tu a At 10 I set out on Horseback for Cambridg: Ride down to Barton's Point, & over ye Ice to Col Phipps's Farm: call & Dine at Col Phips's:[5] Present H^m wth my Chronological Hist: go to Coll^g, vis^t Mr Rogers, Sewall, Flint, Præsid^t Wadsworth:[6]

At Dark set out, c^m down Charlestown-Road as far as ye Stone House, turn out & ride over ye Ice in a thick Fog to Barton's Point & Home by 8.

27 Th m Cous^n Loring & Br Moses[7] Dine wth us.

29 Sa Dies Mr Nicholas Buttolph a Bookseller of this Town.[8]

30 Su a S Ch. T P Preaches.

p Hollis Street Ch, T P Preaches

Feb. 3 Th m R Mr Checkley[9] Preaches G L. I Dine at Home. At y^e Rate of 20^l p annum w^e is p week — 7^s. 8^d. 1^q $\frac{12}{52}$

4 F p Govr Prorogues y^e Gen Assembly to Apr. 13. W.

5 Sa m Din'd wth maj^r Brattle at Col Wendal's By Maj^r Brattle I send my Letter to y^e Præsident, wth a Present of my Chronological Hist of New England.

e A very small Blazing star was 1st descern'd at Boston, a little below Venus in y^e Evening.[10]

6 Su a S Ch. T P.

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[1] John Cushing's death was noted in the New England Weekly Journal of January 25, p. 2/1, and a long obituary notice appeared in the Boston News Letter of February 3, p. 2/1. He was a brother of Thomas Cushing (1663–1740), the father of Thomas Cushing (H. C. 1711).

[2] Rev. Israel Loring: see p. 334, above.

[3] Rev. William Cooper: see p. 333, above.

[4] Thomas Prince (H. C. 1740).

[5] Lt.-Gov. Spencer Phips (H. C. 1703).

[6] Rev. Daniel Rogers (H. C. 1725; *d* 1785), Tutor; Stephen Sewall (H. C. 1721), Tutor; Henry Flynt (H. C. 1693), Tutor and Fellow; Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, see p. 334, above.

[7] Moses Prince: see p. 332, above.

[8] His death was noted in the New Weekly Journal of February 1, p. 2/2.

[9] Rev. Samuel Checkley: see p. 333, above, and our Publications, xii. 270–306, where his Diary for 1735 is printed.

[10] "Last Saturday Evening, about Seven a Clock, was discovered in the W.S.W. a strange Meteor in the Heavens, appearing as a faint Stream or Blaze of Light:

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p S Ch. Dr Sewall.

At 4½, just as we w^{r} c^{m} Home à meeting, my wf & oth^{s} in her Chamber heard ye noise & felt a shock of ye Earthquake, w^{c} is also generally perciev'd thro ye countrey, tho a small shock & noise.[1]

7 M e I saw ye Star.

8 Tu e I saw it again.

10 Th m R Mr Welsted[2] Preaches Gen Lec^{r}.

e Wm Wallass of Windsor wth John Wasson of Leicester, c^{m} to me d my Middle-Mare-Medow-Farm at Leicester.

11 F a I sell ye s^{d} Wallass, my s^{d} Farm &c. But not being able to pay me, He sells it s^{d} Wasson, & s^{d} Wasson to Me before ye end of ye year.

13 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall.

p S Ch. T P.

14 M a Y^{e} Classis Placed at College: Tommy made ye Head; Stevens, ye 2^{d}, Barnard, ye 3^{d}; Gay ye 4th &c:[3]

p Min^{s} Meet^{g} at Dr Sewalls; w^{n} I Pray'd &c:

17 Th m R Mr Nathl Walter Preach G L for R Mr Gee, à 1 Joh. 4.–8 *For God is Love.*

p I go over in Mr Hughs's Slay, wth Mrs Hughs, to her Br Severs's Funeral at Roxbury. He was a Prentice to Mr Tho Foster House Carpenter, in Boston at w^{os} House He Died; but was carried over & Buried à s^{d} Severs's Fath^{r} Sever's, in Roxbury Street,[4] R^{d} Mr Neh Walter & his son R Mr Nathl at ye Funeral.[5] R^{d} Mr Walter sen^{r} Pray^{d} at ye House

20 Su a Dr Sewall Preaches. S Ch.

p T P Preaches. S Ch.

23 W a Benj White & Ezra Clap of Middleborrô Esq^{s}, c^{m} to Town.

It was also seen on Monday & Tuesday Evenings, it being then fair Weather, and causes various Conjectures. It is tho't by most to be a Comet or Blazing Star, and that the vast Distance of it, at its first Appearance, occasions the dimness of its Light as to us" (Boston News Letter, February 10, p. 2/2).

[1] "Last Lord's day between Four and Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, a considerable Shock of an Earthquake was perciev'd in this Town; . . ." (New England Weekly Journal, February 8, p. 2/2).

[2] Rev. William Welsteed: see p. 334, above.

[3] Rev. Benjamin Stevens, John Barnard, Samuel Gay. John Barnard was the son of the Rev. John Barnard (H. C. 1709) of Andover, and died before graduation on October 5, 1739: cf. Publications of this Society, xvii. 276, 279.

[4] Ebenezer Sever, who died February 14, was a brother of Abigail Sever, wife of George Hews, and a son of Shubael Sever: see New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi, 306–307.

[5] See p. 334, above.

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24 Th m R Mr Chancy Preaches G L. à Agar's Prayer. We Dine wth Maj^r Holman's at ye Govr.

p At Mr John Salter's.

J^no Salter
T P
B White Esq } 100^l to James Smith

But aft^rw^d p^d & Taken up.

e I clear'd my Bond to Mr Ezra Clap of Middleborô

L. Princip
&
Interest } &c £.76.16.4^d

27 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall Preaches

p S Ch. Mr Hooper Preaches ye 2^d time at S Ch. Psal. 32.–1.

28 M m I Dine at M^r T Hubbard's.

p At 3, Min^s meet at my House.

March 1 Tu p R Mr Chauncy & I wait on Col Wendal, to consult d ye Rev Mr John Adams's [1] support, in his Delirium: y^r we meet wth Maj^r Brattle, Col. Wendal Proposes to get Subscript f^r a year, & we des^r Maj^r Brattle to look out a Place for H^m at Cambridg. R Mr Chauncy & I, yn go & Pay a long vis^t to Lieut Govr Dummer.

e Henry Lee Esqr spends ye even^g at my House.

2 W a Mr Elisha Nevers comes to my House à Leicester.

3 Th m R Mr Mather [2] Preaches. G L R Mr Brown [3] of Haverhill Dines wth me at my House.

4 F a At 4 this Morning, Mr Brocas's shop Burnt down.[4]

6 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall Preaches.

p S Ch. T P Preaches.

e Charity Meeti^g, Mr Wm Hooper 1st Preacher Heb. 13.16. Gath^d 105^l

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[1] See p. 333, above.

[2] Rev. Samuel Mather: see p. 334, above.

[3] Rev. John Brown: see p. 333, above.

[4] "On Friday Morning last about Four o'Clock in the Morning, a Fire broke out in the Shop of Mr. *John Brocas*, Cabinet-maker in Union-Street, which consumed the same, with what was therein, to a considerable Value: Mr. *Brocas's* Dwelling House took Fire, but by a wonderful Interposition of Providence, and the Skill and Industry of those who came to the Help of the exposed, the same was soon Extinguished, and thereby the whole Neighbourhood were wonderfully preserved" (New England Weekly Journal, March 8, p. 2/2). The same paper of March 22 advertised a "Sermon preach'd by the Rev. Dr. *Colman* at the *Friday-Lecture* in *Brattle-Street*, March 4th. 1736, 7. . . . After a most merciful and wonderful Preservation of the *Town* from being consumed by *Fire*, which broke out in *Union-Street* about Four that Morning" (p. 2/3).

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7 M m I Dine upon Col Wendal's Invita^{n}, wth H^{m} & his officers at Goldthwait's.

8 Tu p M^{r} T Hubbard wth I & Tommy go over Charlestown-Ferry & ride up in s^{d} Hubbard's chaise to College: Mr Hubbard & I 1st call on Br Nathan:[1] y^{n} we vis^{t} ye Præsid^{t} very dangerously ill, wth W^{m} I Pray. Y^{n} go to Mr Flint's chamber, w^{r} Mr Sewall, Rogers & Diamond come. I Pray in ye Hall; we go up to Mr Flint's chamber ag^{n}. w^{n} leaving Tommy wth Cous^{n} Peter Thacher;[2] Mr Hubbard & I come^{s} down over ye Ferry, we spend ye evening at Mr Isaac Walker's, Mr Hubbard's wife & her mother Jackson wth us.[3]

10 Th m R Mr Byles[4] Preaches G L. I Dine at M^{r} T Hubbard's wth R Mr Byles & Justice Sever[5] of Kingston.

13 Su a S Ch. T P. L S.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall

17 Th m Dr Colman[6] Preaches G Lec^{r}. As I come out of Lect^{r} I hear of *Præsident Wadsworth's Decease last night* at 1 o'clock. I Dine at Mr. Isaac Walker's.

19 Sa I hear of the Fall of ye Gallery in Northampton Meet^{g} House last Lord's Day.[7]

20 Su a T P Preaches at N Ch. Isa. 55.1. R Mr Mather at S Ch.

p Dr Sewall at S Ch.

21 M m I Dine at M^{r} T Hubbard's

23 Wm I Dine at M^{r} T Hubbard's, wth Mr Jackson.

p At 2½ we 3 wth Mr Andrew & Peter Oliver, set out on Horseback thro Roxbury, to ye Præsident's Funeral at Cambridg. Get there by 4: put up our Horses at Professor Wigglesworth's:[8] at 4½ go to ye Præsident's House: at 5 we follow ye Corps to ye Hall, w^{r} Mr Flint makes a Latin Fun Oration of near ¾ an Hour.[9] We yn proceed to ye Burial, about sun set, & get Home by 8.

24 Th m R Mr Thacher[10] Preaches G Lec^{r}

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[1] Nathan Prince: see p. 332, above.

[2] Peter Thacher (H. C. 1737); see p. 332 note 1, above.

[3] See p. 335 note 1, above.

[4] Rev. Mather Byles: see p. 333, above.

[5] Rev. Nicholas Sever (H. C. 1701).

[6] Rev. Benjamin Colman: see p. 333, above.

[7] An account was printed in the New England Weekly Journal of March 22, p. 2/1–2; and another, written by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, in the same paper of April 5, p. 2/1–2.

[8] Rev. Edward Wigglesworth (H. C. 1710).

[9] "Oratio Funebris in Obitum Reverendi Domini Benjamanis Wadsworth, . . . Habita in Aula Academiae. Ab Henrico Flynt. . . . Bostoni . . . MDCCXXXVII."

[10] Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1696): see p. 334, above.

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p Tommy comes à College, & Lodges.

25 F a This morn^g at 2, ye Town-Dock Market-House Pulled down.

26 F p Dr Sewall goes to Cambridg; to Preach on occasion of ye Præsident's Death.[1]

27 Su a S Ch. T P.

p S Ch. R Mr Cooper — for Dr Sewall & at 6 Tommy sets out for College.

28 M m I Din'd wth Mr Web, Gee[2] & Byles at Mr T. Hubbard's.

p I attend ye Min^s meet^g at R Mr Cooper's.

30 W m Tommy comes Home from College.

31 Th Gen Fast in Massach & P Hamsh^r.

a I Pray & Preach at S Ch; Dr Sewall abs^t, at C H, for R Mr Foxcroft seiz'd last n^t wth ye Gout.

p S Ch: Dr Sewall Prays & Preaches We Collect 104^l 12^s for Charitab & Pious Uses.

April 1 F m I Dine at Mr Secretary Willard's.[3]

3 S a S Ch T P Preaches.

p Hollis Street Ch T P Preaches. Act. 2.38. (2) Sup at R. Mr Byles's.

4 M a At 10, S Ch & Cong meet & vote ye surplusage of ye Box, wth ½ ye Cellar Rent to be equally Divided betw^n ye Min^s.

m I Dine wth Br Moses & Mr Jackson, at M^r T Hubbard's.

5 Tu a At ye Selectmen's Desire I open ye Townmeet^g wth Pray^r in ye Representatives Chamber.

m I Dine wth ye Selectmen, & ye mod^r viz Hon Elisha Cook Esqr,[4] &c at ye Orange Tree.

6. W e Dul. & Let out Br S Denny's[5] to M O.[6]

7 Th a At 10, Tommy goes up to College

m T P Preaches G Lec^r. Ps. 80.1,2.(2) I Dine wth R Mr Appleton[7] & Maj^r Brattle at ye Gov^rs.

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[1] "When the Godly cease, and Faithful fail; we must seek to God for Help. A Sermon Preach'd at Cambridge, Upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, . . . By Joseph Sewall, D.D. . . . Boston: . . . MDCCXXXVII."

[2] Rev. Joshua Gee: see p. 333, above.

[3] Josiah Willard, whose wife is mentioned later. This was his second wife, Hannah (Appleton) Clarke, widow of William Clarke: cf. our Publications, xii. 163–166.

[4] Elisha Cooke (H. C. 1697), whose death is recorded on August 24.

[5] Samuel Denny: see p. 333, above.

[6] These letters are perfectly clear but their meaning eludes me.

[7] Rev. Nathaniel Appleton: see p. 333, above.

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p Mrs Fayrweathr visits us.[1] I vist Capt Nathl Green near his End.
e At ye Libera Societas;[2] wth Brs Moses & Nathan.
8 F a Br Nathan at our House.
m I Dine wth Mr Oxenbridg Thacher[3] & his son at Mr Pain's.
p Ezra Clap Esq of Middleborrô at our House.
9 Sa a Ys Mornz Dies Capt Nathl Green Esqr of this Town. æt. 70. He livd at ye NW cornr of Atkinson-Street: He was master of ye ship Dolphin yt went in Compy wth ye Thomas & Elizabeth, wn I went to Barbadoes. A sober man & of very good wit & sense.[4]
10 Su a Cousn Joseph Prince arrives à Lisbon.[5]
11 M Very Rainy, cold & raw wth a NE storm all last nt & this Day, as also M night & Tuesday; as also wet a Tuesday night.
12 Tu p Tommy comes à Cambridg by water
13 W a Cousn Joseph Bourn[6] at my House.
p Susee Galpin goes Home.
e Dul & Compl Tommy goes to Cambridg by water.
14 Th m R Mr Web Preaches G Lecr. I Dine at James Pemberton Esqr.
p Mrs Mary Jones comes to Nurse my wife.
e I attend Capt Green's & Thomas Wyat's Funeral.
17 Su a R Mr Byles Preaches by exchange wth Dr Sewall at ye S Ch This AM, ye New Meetg H 1st opened in ye W Part of Boston; Mr Wm Hooper Preaching a & Mr Gee p. Br Joseph[7] comes in wth his vessel à Stratford.
p S Ch. T P.
18 M m I Dine at Mr T Hubbard's wth R Mr Byles, Br Moses, Mrs Dupee[8] &c:

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[1] Mrs. Hannah (Waldo) Fayerweather was the widow of Thomas Fayerweather. On her death in 1755, Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon.

[2] This society is again mentioned on September 29, but no clue is given as to exactly what it was.

[3] Oxenbridge Thacher (H. C. 1698) and his son Oxenbridge Thacher (H. C. 1738).

[4] His death was noted in the New England Weekly Journal of April 12, p. 2/2.

[5] His arrival was noted in the New England Weekly Journal of April 12, p. 2/2, together with the news he brought. I have been unable to identify this Capt. Joseph Prince.

[6] See p. 332, above.

[7] Joseph Prince: see p. 332, above.

[8] Capt. Isaac Dupee, mentioned later, married Sarah Bromfield, daughter of Edward Bromfield (*d* 1734), while Mary Bromfield, a sister, married Thomas Cushing (H. C. 1711). On the death of their brother Edward Bromfield in 1756, Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon.

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19 Tu m Govr sending for me, I Dine wth Him: ye Post-master Husk[1] wth us.

[20] W Last n^t & all this Day, a G^t & cold NE Storm of Wind & Rain: w^e in ye Ev^s turns to Snow & y^n to Rain all night.

21 Th Last n^t at 10, our Neighb^r Briggs's Chimney, xtr^m Fowl, catches a Fire & burns exced^s fierce for near an Hour.

p Mrs Sewall, Mrs Lydia, Mrs Fellows, & Rev. Mr Israel Loring, at our House.

e Mr Lovel wth us. Dul.

22, 23 F & Sa Y^e NE Storm of wind & R^n continued Th & Th n^t, F & F n^t; Sa morn^s & a m it snows & y^n turns to cold R^n.

23 Sa p Dul A most extr cold winter & spring as has been known in this countrey by ye pres^t Genera^n: ye xtr cold wint^r reach^d à Penobscot to South Carolina: and the winter may be properly s^d to continue at Boston this year to ye end of ye Sa ye 23^d of April.

24 Su a S Ch Dr Sewall. Su Apr. 24, may be s^d to be ye 1st Day of Spring.

p. S Ch. T. P.

e I Proposed to our South Chh & y^r very generally Voted, w^thout any opposition, y^t ye H Scrip^s b Read in Pub betw^n ye 1st Pray^r & Sing^s in ye Forenoon & afternoon: & y^t it be left to ye Discretion of ye Pastors, w^t Parts to Read & w^t Parts to xpound.

25 M m I Din'd at M^r T Hubbard's.

p I attended Min^s Meet^s at R Mr Checkley's.

26 Tu a R Mr Chancy & I Rode up in a Chair round to Camb^s to ye Overseers ½ yearly meet^s in ye Col^s Library. We (1) Recom^d to ye Corpora^n to chuse ye Coll^s officers annualy. (2) Agreed to join wth ye Corpora^n to keep sm t^m in Pray^r d ye choice of a Præsid^t, appointed s^d t^m of Pray^r to be W May 4 a: & Recom^d to ye Corpora^n to Proceed to [*blank*][2]

Din'd, Ret^d by Day-Light, I vis^d Mrs Chancy dangerously ill.

27 W p I spent wth Mr Mather in his study — d his Apology.[3]

[1] Ellis Huske: cf. our Publications, ix. 465–466.

[2] Doubtless this should read: "Proceed to the election of a President." "The Question was put whether the Corporation be counselled & advised to come to the Choice of a president next Wednesday come Sevenight in the afternoon and it passed in the affirmative" (Overseers' Records, April 26, i. 153).

[3] The New England Weekly Journal of May 17, 1737, contained this advertisement:

THERE is to be prepared for the Press, and e'er long will be published, a Book in Octavo, entitled *An Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in* NEW-ENGLAND: . . . By *Samuel Mather*, M.A. (p. 2/3).

It was not published until 1738: cf. our Publications, xviii. 224.

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28 Th m R Mr Foxcroft Preaches G Lec^r. I Dine wth Mr Mather's at Deacon Henchman's.[1]

30 Sa p Mr Wm Hooper c^mes wth a Let^r à ye W Ch, express^g y^r unanimous & earnest Des^r y^t I w^d Preach at his Ordina^n ye 18th of May. Y^e Sa Br Joseph sails for Stratford.

May 1 Su a Y^e a we 1st Begin to Read ye Scrip^s in Pub betw^n ye 1st Pray^r & Singing. Dr Sewall Begin^s wth Gen I.

p Y^e p I Begin wth Mat. I.

2 M a Nurse Jones call'd away: Mrs Fellows c^mes to stay wth my wf ys d, & goes Home. Y^e d we Plant our Garden & sow our Beans. Y^e a Mr Wm Hooper wth me ag^n to Persw^d me to Preach at his ordina. Y^e a, Mercy & Sarah [2] Begin to go to school to Mrs Twing.

e Mrs Wheeler comes to tend my wife.

a m p Dul.

5 Th m R Mr Checkley Preaches G Lec^r. I Dine at Mr Andrew Oliver's wth M^r S Mather:

p whither R Mr Hooper c^mes ag^n to Persw^d me to Preach at his Ordina: follows me Home; I send H^m to Rev Mr Webb. Br Nathan comes in while Mr Hooper is wth me.

e & R Mr Foxcroft visits me: & while He is wth me, Mr Hooper c^mes ag^n: But I tell H^m He must Preach, &c

8 Su a S Ch. T P. L S

p S Ch. Dr Sewall

9 M m I Dine at M^r T Hubbard's.

p I meet Min^s at R Mr Welsted's.

12 Th m R Mr Welsted Preaches G Lec^r. I Dine at M^r J Hunt's.[3]

13 F a This morn^g Dies Mrs Eliz ye wf of ye R M^r C Chauncy, æt. 31. a most pretty, pleasant, virtuous, discreet, good Temp^d Gentlewoman She was a Dear & Delightf Friend to me.[4]

14 Sa e Hugh Hall Esq & Wm Stoddard Esq., come to Sollicit me to gv Mr Hooper ye charge at his ordina next F. At length I tell y^m, if y^r ch will 1st vote f^r & send to R Mr Thacher, & He refuses; y^n I will.

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[1] Daniel Henchman (*d* 1761).

[2] Daughters of Mr. Prince: see p. 333, above.

[3] Perhaps "I. Hunt's."

[4] "Last Friday dyed much Lamented, Mrs. *Elizabeth Chauncy*, the vertuous Consort of the Rev. Mr. *Charles Chauncy*, one of the Pastors of the first Church in this Town, and was decently Interred the last Night" (New England Weekly Journal, May 17, p. 2/1). She was the daughter of Grove Hirst, and was Chauncy's first wife. The death of her sister, Mrs. Jane Davenport, is noted on September 6.

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15 Su a I Preach my 1st at ye West Church: R Mr Checkley Preach^s^ f^r^ me at ye S Ch.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall Preaches.

16 M a Gazette &c

m I dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's.

p I attend as a Barer on ye Funeral of Dr Mrs Chancy, & Return^s^ to his House, I Pray.

18 W a Mr Wm Hoopers Ordination Pastor of ye West Ch. R Mr Foxcroft Prays. Mr Hooper Preaches, 2. Cor. 4.7 R Dr Sewall Prays. I Read ye Ch Cov^t^ &c; Pray give ye charge to Mr Hooper Pray & g^v^ anoth^r^ Ch^s^ to ye Ch. Dr Colman gives ye R^t^ H^d^ to Mr Hooper. Sing. Mr Hooper gives ye Blessing.

19 Th m R Mr Gee Preaches Gen Lec^r^. I 1st Dine at Mrs Fayrwether's: none but Mrs Sarah Cotton wth us.

20 F a I ride on Mr Jeffrey's Horse to Stephen Williams at Roxbury, see the Mare & colt & Dine: y^n^ to Cousin Thomas Glover's; to Cous^n^ David Rawson's; to Capt Culliver's, w^r^ I met wth Cous^n^ David Rawson & his wf;[1] to Cous^n^ Widow Glover's; & y^n^ Home by Dark.

22 Su a S Ch. T P.

p N S. T P. This d 12 weeks since my wf took to her Bed.

23 M m I Dine at Mr T. Hubbard's

e At 9½ my wf grows Ill. sent f^r^ her women, contin^d^ very dang^s^ all n^t^

24 Tu & morn^s^ till 4 w^n^ she was deliv'd of a 4th *still Born D^r^*, w^e^ we inter'd in ye Min^y^ Tomb at sunset.

p Broth^r^ Thach^r^ c^ms^ in à Middleboro & Tommy à Cambridg.

25 W a Govr send^s^ f^r^ me I go wth Dr Sewall & Brake fast wth H^m^ & ye Council &c. Dr Sewall crav^s^ a Bless^s^, & I Return^s^ Thanks.

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[1] A complicated relationship existed between the Glovers and the Princes. Nathaniel Glover (1631–1657) married Mary Smith, by whom he had Nathaniel (*d* 1724) and Anne. Anne married William Rawson, a son of Secretary Edward Rawson; and their son David (1683–1752) married Mary Gulliver, a daughter of Capt. John Gulliver of Milton. (The death at Milton of Capt. John Gulliver on July 3 was noted in the New England Weekly Journal of July 5, 1737, p. 2/1.) On the death of her first husband, Nathaniel Glover, Mary Smith married Gov. Thomas Hinckley; and among their children were Mercy, who, as already stated (p. 332, above), married Samuel Prince (father of the Rev. Thomas Prince), and Thankful, who married the Rev. Experience Mayhew. But Mary Smith was Gov. Hinckley's second wife, and by his first wife, Mary Richards, he had a daughter Hannah, who married the Nathaniel Glover who died in 1724. The "cousin Thomas Glover" and the "cousin Widow Glover," mentioned in the text, were presumably related to this Nathaniel Glover, but exactly how I have not determined. "Culliver" and "Gulliver" are variants of the same name.

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M R Mr Loring of Sudbury Preaches ye Elecn Serm. I Dine wth Dr Sewall's Family.

p I attend ye conven of Mine at Dr Sewall's, offr my scheam d ye collections we wth sm alterae is acceptd.

At ye Conventn of NE Pastors

Ye Scheam voted is this.

1. Yt at our Anniversary meetings, at ye Gen Elec in May, yr be a Sermon Preached to ye Convention on ye Day after ye Election in ye Forenoon: & yt ye Conventions yearly do by written votes chuse ye Person to Preach at ye Convention following, as also another to Preach in case ye Person 1st chosen shd fail.

2. Yt aftr ye Sermon, yr be a Collection made for Propagating ye Gospel & supporte ye wp of God in necessitous Places.

3. Yt ye Rev Dr Sewall be ye Treasurer, to take care of ye sd Collections, as also of ye contributions yt may be sent in afterwards, & dispose of ym to ye Persons & uses Ordered, till ye Convention chuse some other.

4. Yt all ye Collections appropriated by ye Contributors be strictly applied to ye Persons & uses Directed by yr Contributors.

5. Yt ye unappropriated Collections may be disposed of by ye Vote of ye sd Conventions, if yy see cause, before yy separate.

6. Yt yr be a Comittee annually chosen by ye Convention to dispose of ye remaining unappropriated collections, together wth any other unappropriated contributions yt may be sent in to ye Treasurer afterwards for ye Pious uses abovsd.

7. Yt ye sd Comtee & Treasurer do lay yr account before ye Conventions yearly in ye afternoon of ye Day of ye General Elections. &

Yt ye Rev. Dr Collman, Mr Thacher, Mr Foxcroft, Mr Gee of Boston, Mr Nehemiah Walter of Roxbury, Mr Appleton of Cambridg & Mr Bowman[1] of Dorchester, be ye Comittee for ye uses abovsd on ye year ensuing.

All voted, Attest Thomas Prince

NB. I wd Propose ye associated Pastors of Boston wth such other Pastors as ye convention shall please to chuse, as a standing comittee, till ye convention order otherwise.

26 Th a Attend ye Conven agn. At 10 ye S Ch Bell 1st Rings: at 11 ye 2d: we go in; wn R Mr Baxter[2] Prays & Preaches. yn mk ye Collecn.

m I Dine at Home: Br Thachr Dining wth me.

[1] Rev. Jonathan Bowman: see p. 333, above.

[2] Rev. Joseph Baxter: see p. 333, above. A notice of the convention was printed in the Boston News Letter of May 26, p. 2/2.

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p Attend ye Conven, w^e^ Dispose ye collec^n^. y^n^ Attend ye coll^s^ overseers meet^s^ in ye Council Chamber; w^n^ R Mr Cooper is Presented by ye Corpora^n^ f^r^ Præsid^t^, but excuses Hims: adjourn to next Th.

e Sev Min^s^ at my House.

27 F m Br Thach^r^ Dines wth us.

p Br Moses wth Tommy, & aft^r^ y^m^ Br Thach^r^ set è f^r^ Middleborô

[29] Su a S Ch R Mr Raynolds [1] of Enfield Preaches

p S Ch R Mr Pemberton [2] of N. York Preaches.

30 M a C^mo^ in Paton à Rochester

M I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's.

31 Tu m I Dine at M^r^ T Cushion's.[3] Paton Returns.

p &c xced Dul &c.

June 1 W p vis^d^ Mrs Cotton &c.

2 Th m R Mr Pemberton of New York Preaches G Lec^r^ f^r^ Mr Mather. I Dine at Mr Isaac Walkers.

p. At 4 I meet ye Col^s^ overseers in ye Council Chamb^r^. w^r^ (1) We accept ye Choice of R Mr Holyoak f^r^ Præsid^t^. (2) chuse a Com^tee^ to Des^r^ his accept^nce^, his Chh^s^ concurr^nce^, & to address ye Gen c^t^ to encour^s^ & facilitate his settlem^t^

3 F m I Dine at Mr Brandon's wth Mr Secr^y^, Col Berry, y^r^ wives, Mrs Payson &c.

p I Preach f^r^ R Mr Chancy, at B S Ch, ye Sacram^t^ Lect^r^, à *Mat. 8. 17.* (2, 3)

e Tommy brings in Cous^n^ Mary Thach^r^ [4] à Middleborô.

4 Sa p Ab^t^ Sunset rises a terrib Storm of Thund^r^ & Lighten^g^: w^n^ a Girl is Kill'd at Boston, æt 13; & Capt Pitman at Salem, æt 23.[5]

5 Su a L S. S Ch. Dr Sewall

p S Ch. T P.

6 M a I went & saw ye Girl killd wth Light^g^, view'd ye Room, enquir'd, Pray'd &c.

p At 2 I set è alone for Rochester, baited at Mills's in Braintry, & lodg at Daniel Howards at Bridgewater Bounds.

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[1] Rev. Peter Reynolds: see p. 334, above.

[2] Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton: see p. 334, above.

[3] Thomas Cushing (H. C. 1711). On his death in 1746, Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon. He married Mary Bromfield, a daughter of Edward Bromfield (*d* 1734): see p. 343 note 8, above.

[4] Daughter of the Rev. Peter Thatcher (H. C. 1706): see p 332 note 1, above.

[5] A long account of the storm appeared in the New England Weekly Journal of June 7, p. 2/1–2, where it is stated that "Capt. *Caleb Pitman* at *Salem*, standing with 5 other Persons in a large Entry, was struck Dead." In the Lynde Diaries (p. 148) the name is given as Caleb Pickman.

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7 Tu a I rode on & baited at Howard's in Bridgwater Town, & at ye Widow's of my Dear late departed Friend, Capt. Thomas Ames's. He was a grave, modest, ingenious, prudent, sober, honest man; a Lover of ye old ways of NE; shew'd me allways a partic^r^ Respect, invited & wellcom'd me to his House: & Died on [*blank*] Thence to Br. Thacher's by 12; Din'd;

p At 2 set out for Cromessit-neck; 3 mile this side Elisha Wing's, met wth Br Thacher, Bourn, & Moses: Br Bourn went back wth me, & we lodg'd at Elisha Wing's.

8 W a Br Bourn & I went to Paton's at Cromessit Little Neck, spent ye Day wth Paton & Saml Edwards: m^d^ up acc^ts^ & Lodg'd. This morn^g^ I P^d^ Elisha Wing 12^s^ in full for service done for Mother at Cromessit.

9 Th a Br. Bourn, Paton & I mounting, rode to ye Part^s^ of ye Roads; w^n^ Br Bourn rode off f^r^ Sandwich, Paton & I ride to Elish Wing's; I left wth Elish Wing, — 1. Our cov^t^ wth Paton & Edwards. 2. Eben^r^ Landers note to me. W^n^ He return'd to ye Neck, I ride to Deacon Freeman's, Mr Ruggles's, Joseph Haskel's, Widow Nye's, Joseph Savery's in my House at Charles Neck, John Dexter's, Widow Nye's. ag^n^, w^r^ I lodg'd. I t^k^ a note à s^d^ Paton of 6^l^ 0. 6^d^ see March. 30. 1738.

10 F a Joseph Savery com^s^ over, we ride to Ben Hilliers: He Ben Hillier & I to Joseph Haskel's, w^r^ we find Br Moses, y^n^ to John Bourn's, w^r^ s^d^ Hillier & I agree about ye Well. I Pay s^d^ Hillier 3^l^ 15^s^ 0 & com̄itted ye cov^t^ to Joseph Savery.

Capt Ham̄ond & Br. Moses Com^s^ to John Bourn's, we 3 wth s^d^ Bourn, Run ye Line betw^n^ Br Moses Land & Mine, marked ye Range Trees, & set up a stake & stones for our com̄on Boundary on ye E side ye way yt leads down à Noah Sprague's to Hatch's. Went to Caleb Blackwell's, & John Bourn's, w^r^ I left Capt Ham̄ond I P^d^ Capt Ham̄ond 22^s^ in full for surveying Fath^s^ Land on Arnold^s^ Plain: Y^n^ Br Moses & [I] went & Din'd at Roger Haskells: & c^m^ to Br Thacher's by sunset.

11 Sa a At 7 I set out alone, call'd at Mr Tucker's, Howard's in Bridgwat^r^ Town, Daniel Howard's in ye Goar, come over ye Blew Hills, to Cousn Widow Glover's. w^r^ I left my mare, & c^m^ home a Foot by 9 at night. Br Joseph c^m^ in à Stratford in Connecticut, wth a Load of Pork &c:

[12] S a S Ch. Dr Sewall.

p S Ch. Rev. Mr Ward Cotton[1] of Hampton.

13 M m I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's.

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[1] See p. 333, above.

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15 W p I attended ye Fun of Timothy Clarke Esq; w^o Died last M Morn^g, æt 81.[1]

16 Th m Dr Colman Preaches G Lec^r.

19 S a S Ch. Dr Sewall.

p S Ch. T P.

20 M m I Dine at M^r T Hubbard's

p I met ye Min^s at R Mr Gee's; w^a Rev. Mr Hooper 1st c^me among us. Br Saml Denny c^ms in by Land à Arrowsick.

22 W p College Overseers meet in ye Council Chamber: Mr Flint Pres^d ye unanim^s vote of ye Corpora y^t my Br^r Mod^t & give Degrees on ye Comenc^t in ye Forenoon; & Mr Flint afternoon. Y^e Govr 12 Councillours 4 Ministers, viz Dr Sewall Mr Foxcroft Mr Gee Myself. Y^e 4 Min^s & 4 Councill's aff: ye Gov & 8 Council^rs neg. Adj^d to F p

23 Th m R Mr Thacher Preaches CH I Dine at Mr Vans's, wth Mr Saml Dummer.[2]

m Tommy c^ms Home à College.

p I att^d Maj^r Vassal's Fun.[4]

24 F p Coll^g Overseers Met in ye Council Chamb^r; w^n ye Maj^r P^t voted aff of ye corpora^s choice of Mr Flint to mod^t & give Deg^s f^r ye whole Day.[5] Adjourn to next Th p. Br Joseph sets sail for Stratford.

25 Sa p xeed Dul.

26 S a S Ch. Dr Sewall

p S Ch. T P.

27 M m I Dine at M^r T Hubbards.

p Went & vis^d R Mr Gee, found wth H^m his Br George Rogers[6] & Rev Mr Pemberton of N York.

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[1] "Yesterday Morning Died after a few Days Illness, *Timothy Clarke*, Esq; one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Suffolk*" (New England Weekly Journal, June 14, p. 2/2). A long notice of him appeared in the same paper of June 21, p. 2/2.

[2] Nathan Prince.

[3] "Yesterday died at *Wilmington* after a few Days Illness, *Samuel Dummer*, Esq; . . . Brother to the Honourable *William Dummer*, Esq;" (New England Weekly Journal, February 7, 1738, p. 2/2).

[4] "Yesterday Morning died at his Seat in this Town, *Leonard Vassal*, Esq; aged about Sixty Years" (New England Weekly Journal, June 21, 1737, p. 2/2).

[5] See our Publications, xviii. 372–373.

[6] The Rev. Joshua Gee married Sarah Rogers, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (H. C. 1687) of Portsmouth. Her brother George Rogers was without doubt, I think, the "G. Rogers" who was a temporary student at Harvard College in the class of 1723 or thereabouts: cf. our Publications, xvii. 275, 283. He died late in 1747 or early in 1748, as his estate was advertised in the Boston Evening Post of January 18, 1748, p. 4/2.

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e Sup at M^r B Pemberton's, wth Rev Mr Pemberton &c.

28 Tu a Sist^r Thacher & her D^tr Susee c^m in à Middleborrô.

30 Th m Dr Sewall Preaches G L. I Dine at Home.

p Coll^s Overseers meet in ye Council Chamb^r: But hav^e noth^g to do, dissolv.

July 2 Sa a Br Saml Denny sets sail for Arrowsick.

3 Su a S Ch. T P. L S

p S Ch. Dr Sewall.

4 M p I meet Min^s at R Mr Chancy's.

e Br Thacher c^ms to my House.

5 Tu a Gov sends to me to ride in his Chariot wth H^m to Com̄enc^t to morrow.

p At 1. Cousns Mary & Susee Thacher, w^th *My Debby & Mercy*,[1] go up in a Boat for Cambridg.

6 W a At 6 I went ov^r to ye Gov^s: at 6½ set è in his chaise wth H^m & Dr Sewall, to Coll^s by 8. Went to Cousn Peter Thacher's Chamb^r w^r I found my Tom̄y, Debby, & Mercy, wth Cous^ns Peter, Sam̄y, Mary & Susee Thacher.[2] Aft^rw^d c^ms Br & Sist^r Thacher, Cousn Foster & wf &c.[3] At 10 went to ye Overseers meet^g in ye Library. w^e added Mr Lynde[4] & me to ye Com^tee to Persw^d Mr Holyoak's ppl, to let H^m c^m to Coll^g. I went to ye a m exerc^s. Din'd in Cous^n Peter's Chamb^r. went to ye p m Exerc^s.

p. At 7. Dr Sewall, *I & my Debby* set out in ye Gov^s chaise wth H^m, & at 8½ get Home. At 10 *my Mercy* comes Home, being brot by Charlstown Ferry, by Cous^n Bullard.

7 Th m R Mr Williams[5] of Weston Preaches for me at C H. We Dine wth A Stoddard Esq[6] & Major Brattle at the Gov's.

e Br & Sist^r Thacher wth y^r Chil^n c^m à Cambridg.

8 F a Br & Sist^r Thach^r & Cou^s Peter go Homew^d by Land.

p Cousn Susee, wth Cous^n Foster & wf, for Plymouth by water. This P, I 1st carry my wf out in a chaise, ride round Roxbury Square, & c^m Home.

10 S a S Ch. T P.

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[1] Mr. Prince's daughters.

[2] Children of the Rev. Peter Thacher (H. C. 1706): see p. 332 note 1, above.

[3] Nathaniel and Mercy (Thacher) Foster: see p. 332 note 1, above.

[4] Benjamin Lynde (H. C. 1718).

[5] Rev. William Williams: see p. 334, above.

[6] Anthony Stoddard (H. C. 1697; *d* 1748): cf. our Publications, xii. 282 note 2. On the death in 1748 of his wife Martha, a sister of Gov. Belcher, Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon.

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p S Ch. Mr Ellis Gray's [1] 1st at S Ch.

11 M m At 11, my Dr & I set out in a chaise, & rode to Mr Isaac Walker's House at Roxbury: Eat Radishes & Brd & Butter, I went about his Land: & we cm Home abt sunset.

14 Th m R Mr Webb Preaches G Lecr. Dr Sewall & I Dine at ye Gov's.

16 Sa a At 11, My Dr, wth Tom̄y & I set out in Mr Trail's chaise, rode to widow Glover's at Dorchester.

m Din'd; ya

p Rode across to Capt Steven Williams's at Roxbury. Tom̄y found my mare, & rode Her Home wth us.

17 Su a NS. T P. R Mr Cooper fr me at S Ch.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall R Mr Checkley fr Mr C at B S This P. Su. July 17. My wf 1st goes to meetg since [*blank*]

18 M m At noon, Br D Denny's wf [2] on a Horse, *My Tommy* on my mare, & *My Debby* on anothr, set out for Leicester. My wf & I in Mr Hunt's chaise, went wth ym: At White's Brook, Sistr Denny rode on to Newtown; *Tommy Debby, my wf & I* to College. Refresh'd ourselves in Tommy's Chambr: At 4 we cm down & parted; *Tommy & Debby* riding on to meet yr aunt at Saltmarsh's a little beyond Watertown Mills, *my wf & I* returning Home.

20 W a At 11½. I carried my wf & Sarah in Cousn Loring's chaise to Capt Davis's countrey seat at Roxbury; Din'd wth Hm & wf: & at 5 p set out & came Home by 6.

p Colls Overseers Comtee meet Mr Holyoke's ppl at Marblehead, & obtn yr Leav fr his going to Colls.

21 Th m R Mr Cooper Preaches C H I Dine alone at Mr A Oliver's

22 F m I Dine wth Capt Dupee & wf at Mr T Cushion's.

24 Su a S Ch. T P.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall.

25 M m Br Nathan & I Dine at Mr T Hubbard's.

p At 4 Mrs Dupee calls & tks my wf into her Chaise & carries her to Mr T Cushion's junr. At 5 my wf sets out wth Capt Dupee & wf in yr Chaise, à Mr T Cushion's, fr yr seat at Woburn.

26 Tu m I Dine at ye Govs: wo aftr Dinr takes me into his chamb d his 2 sons [3] &c Br Nathan Dines at Mr T Cushion's.

p At 4 ye Govr Cms to my House d his son Andrew.

e Mr Andrew Belcher spends ys e at my House wth Br Nathan & I.

[1] See p. 333, above.

[2] See p. 333, above.

[3] Andrew Belcher (H. C. 1724) and Jonathan Belcher (H. C. 1728).

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27 W p Dul. At London, Imported à Peterborrough 450 C weight of rough Hemp. At London Exported for New England 1738 Ells of Sail cloath. 400 lb of gunpowder. Daily Post.

28 Th m R Mr Foxcroft Preaches G^n^ Lec^r^. I Dine 1st at Mr Benjamin Holloway's.

[31] Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall. L S

p S Ch. T P.

August 1 M m I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's, but alone; He & his wf being at Braintrey.

2 Tu a At 9, Mr Brandon & wf, & Cushion in 1 Chaise, Mrs Cushion wth her D^tr^ & I in anoth^r^, set è à Charlestown, thro Medford, to Capt Dupee's at Woburn: Din'd: & at 6, set è ag^n^ ov^r^ ye ware, by ye stone windmill, & ov^r^ Winter Hill to Charlestown; & got Home by 9.

3 W m I Dine at M^r^ T Cushion's.

e Dul. exeed.

4 Th m R Mr Checkley Preaches G^n^ Lec^r^. Dine at Mr Secretary's wth Col Berry.

p Quakers' wedding in C H Chh.[1] At 4 I met ye Coll^s^ Overs^rs^ in ye Council Chamb^r^; w^n^ ye Clerk Read R Mr Holyoak's Let^r^ of accept^nc^, & ye Overseers voted ye Clerk by Let^r^ to Desire H^m^ to Remov to Coll^s^ as soon as He can conven^y^. R Mr Flint visits me.

5 F a R Mr Chever[2] of Manchester & Flint visit me.

m Br Nathan Dines wth me.

6 Sa m Br Nathan Dines wth me.

7 Su a S Ch. T P.

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[1] According to the New England Weekly Journal of August 9, p. 2/1, this marriage, which is not recorded in the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, took place in "the old brick Church:" cf. p. 334 note 3, above.

"Thursday last Mr. *Benjamin Bagnal* Jun. eldest Son of Mr. *Benjamin Bagnal*, Merchant, was married to Mrs. *Anne Hawdan*, eldest Daughter of Mr. *James Hawdan*, Shopkeeper, both the Parents wealthy and eminent Quakers of this Town. There was the greatest Concourse of People assembled that was ever known in *New England* before on the like Occasion." The marriage was to have taken place in the Quaker meeting-house, but that was so crowded when the bride and groom arrived that they could not get in, the galleries began "to crack and give way," and so "the Friends . . . applied to some of the Proprietors of the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill, for leave to meet there, who readily and generously granted their Request, . . . Mr. *Hawdan* had not only his own House (which is very large) but also another House adjoining filled with Guests, to the Number of several Hundreds, and such a prodigious Quantity of the best Sorts of Provision were prepared, as surprized the Beholders, the like having never been seen among us before: . . ." (Boston Evening Post, August 8, p. 2/1).

[2] Rev. Ames Cheever: see p. 333, above.

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p N Ch. T P.

8 M m I Din'd at Mr Isaac Walker's.

p Dul. xeed

9 Tu a At 9 I set out w^th *Mercy & Sarah* in Capt Cunningham's Chair, went ov^r Charlestown Ferry thro Medford, to *My D^r* at Capt Dupee's in Woburn, by 11½. At 12 c^mes Rev Mr Hobby & wf & D^tr,[1] Dine togeth^r.

p Br Nathan goes up to College. At 4 Mr Hobby & wf & D^tr set è f^r Cambridg: At 4½, I & My D^tr, & Capt Dupee, & M^m, set è in chair & Chaise 3′ to [*blank*] at Stonham, & Ret^n by Day-Light. Lodg.

10 W a At 9 Capt Dupee & Wf, wth my D^r in his chaise; & I & my 2 D^rs in ye Chair, set out, ov^r ye ware, thro Nottamy, Cambridg & Roxbury to Boston by 12½. Dine at Home. At 4, *Tommy c^mes in à Leicester.* R Mr Perkins[2] of Bridgwater & D^tr visit us. At 7 I meet wth Col Winthrop, A Stoddard Esqr, Mr Wm Allen, & Col Saml Willard, at Mr Jonas Cla[rks] d settl^g nw Q^tr of Rutland.

11 Th a Judg Dudley[3] calls at my House, & Desires me to go wth H^m & vis^t ye Greek Nobleman at Mr Eyre's House in Queen Street.

m R Mr Welsted Preaches G^a Lec^r. I Dine at Home:

p At 5 Judg Dudley & I visit ye Greek nobleman; Schik Sidi.[4]

[1] Rev. William Hobby: see p. 333, above. He married Lucy Remington.

[2] Rev. Daniel Perkins: see p. 334, above.

[3] Paul Dudley (H. C. 1690).

[4] This "Greek nobleman" was Greek by religion only, not by nationality. The following notice appeared in the Boston Evening Post of July 25, p. 2/1:

On Wednesday last arrived here in Capt. *Jones* from *Bristol*, a Gentleman of Distinction, named *Schick Sidi:* The Place of his Residence when at Home, was *Barut*, near Mount Libanus in Syria, from whence he was driven by the Persecution of the Turks some Years since on Account of his Religion, he being a *Greek* by Profession. He was kindly entertain'd by the Empress of *Russia*, and recommended by her to the Nobility in *England*, where he has been generously supported for 3 or 4 Years, and has receiv'd particular Marks of Favour and Generosity from his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and other Gentlemen of Distinction, as appears by Credentials they have sign'd, recommending him as a fit Object of Charity and Compassion to well disposed Christians, he being an unfortunate Gentleman. His Retenue consists of an Interpreter, and two other Domesticks. He is about 45 Years old, and wears the *Turkish* Habit, which makes him much gazed at by the *Americans* when he goes abroad, which is but seldom. He is extream stately in Walking, never moving his Head or Eyes to the right Hand or the left. He is of a swarthy Complexion, and as all other Eastern People of Fashion are, very grand and majestick in his Mein and Behaviour. 'Tis said he does not like this Place very well, and intends to return to *Europe* in a short Time, without visiting any other Places in *America* (p. 2/1).

This intention was later altered and he made a tour of the country: see p. 355 note 2, below.

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At 7 I meet Col Winthrop &c at Jonas Clark's, w^r I drew up & we sign'd a vote to encour^g ye Settlem^t in ye NW Q^r of Rutland.

e The finest Aurora Borealis y^t has been seen at Boston & round ab^t, betw^n 7 & 11.[1]

12 F m I Dine at Cous^n Joseph Prince's.

p At 4 I set è on my mare, ov^r Charlestown Ferry, to Ambrose Hinds' at Cambridg, agree wth H^m to keep my mare f^r using Her; only I & Tom̄y are to use Her w^n we want Her. y^n to College, Brookline, call at Deacon Cotton's Roxbury, vis^t Judg Dudley, & c^m home by 9. At 6, Cous^n Mary Thacher sett è wth her Cous^n Niles, Homew^d. & Eunice Jones c^ms to be wth us a little while.

13 Sa a Mr John Metcalf of Bellingham visits me.

e Br Nathan c^ms à Coll^g.

14 Su a B S. T P. Luke 14.16. (2) for Mr Cooper at Newberry

p S Ch. T P. Prov. 8.17. (7) Dr Sewall at N Ch.

15 M a Tom̄y carries ye Mare & colt to Hind's at Cambridg; leavs y^m y^r & c^ms home a foot by 10 A M.

p I meet Min^s at Dr Colman's.

16 Tu m Mrs Felloss & Billy Dine wth us. Abt^ 12, ye Greek Nobleman &c rides by my House, for Rhode Island; w^q arriv'd at Boston, W July 20.[2]

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[1] "*Rhode Island*, August 12. Last Night there was here a very Bright *Aurora Borealis*, which lasted the greatest part of the Night with the usual Variations and Appearances. What was extraordinary was that about Eleven o'Clock, there was a most Beautiful Bow extending from East to West, somewhat Broader and about the colour of a Rain-bow of the Moon, the Arch was perfect only the Western Leg most Luminous, there was a considerable distance between the Bow and the Northern Light, the most amusing [amazing?] Appearance continued near an Hour, and died away by Degrees" (New England Weekly Journal, August 16, p. 2/1). In the same paper of September 27 was printed a long letter on the aurora dated "*Cambridge Sept.* 26. 1737" and signed "N. P." — perhaps Nathan Prince.

[2] "*Schick Sidi* the Christian from *Barut* near Mount *Libanus* in *Syria*, whose Arrival here from *Bristol*, we gave an account of a few Weeks past, set out from this Town for *Newport* last Tuesday, with his Attendants, from whence we are told that he purposes to go to *New-York* and *Philadelphia*, and from thence take his Passage to *Jamaica*, and after that to return back to *London*" (New England Weekly Journal, August 23, p. 2/2).

"*Rhode Island, Sept.* 9. *Schick Sidi* the Christian from *Barut*, near Mount *Libanus* in Syria, with his Attendants, took his Passage from hence in one of Capt. *Robert Griffin's* Sloops, on Monday Morning last, with a fair Wind bound for *New-York*, the Gentlemen of this Town were very kind and generous to the aforesaid Gentleman" (ibid. September 13, p. 1/2).

"*Philadelphia, Dec.* 15. On Friday last *Scheck Sibet*, the eastern Nobleman

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p Judg Dudley, N Sever Esq of Kingston & Stephen Jones visit me.

18 Th m R Mr Abbot[1] Preaches G L f^r Mr Gee. I Dine at Deacon Henchmans Br Moses sails f^r Sheepscoat.

p Br. Nathan goes up to College.

19 F a I vis^t ye Hon^bl Elisha Cook Esq, dang^y ill. I vis^t ye Hon Mr Varnum of Newport, at our Neighbour Mr Barrat. Dyre's.

e Br. Joseph c^me in à Stratford.

20. Sa p I vis^t Mr Cook agn.

24 W Mr Cook Dies æt 60. My D^r & I & Tommy Dine wth Mrs Cushion, Mrs Clark c^me in, My D^r & I & Tommy vis^t Mr Bromfield.[2]

25 Th m R Mr Chancy Preaches C H. I Dine at M^r T Hubbards.

26 F a I went down to Windmill Hill, Barton's Point, & so along ye sea shore & causeway to ye westermost Hill, up ye Hill to Bacon-Hill, & down by ye Alms House. went & Din'd at Mr Isaac Walker's.

e Attend Mr Cook's Funeral. At London. Imported à Riga 120e w^t Rough Flax. holland 28^c w^e steel 9^c w^t whalebone.

27 Sa m Br Joseph & Nathan Dine wth us.

28 Su a Y^e Morn^g Being very ill of a Cold, Hoarsness & Sore Throat, I am confin'd & R Mr Cooper Preaches f^r me.

e Cous^n Loring visits me

29 M Confin'd. Min^g Meet^g at R Mr Thacher's; but I c^d not b There.

e Mr Hubbard & Mr Danl Loring vis^t me.

30 Tu a Br Moses Returns à Sheepscot, & Br Joseph setts out f^r Middleborrô.

p Mr Secretary Willard & Col Winslow[3] vis^t me.

Sept. 1 Th m R Mr Hooper Preach'd 1st, ye Pub Lec^r, à Tit. 3.8. I Din'd wth R Mr Hooper & R Mr Byles at Mr Andrew Oliver's.

p Br Joseph Returns à Middleborrough.

2 F Mr Wm Mumford & Mr Helme c^m to me, à Narraganset d ye Min^y Land.

4 Su a I Preach at S Ch.

(who came to America last July) with his Attendants, embark'd here on board the Brigantine Joseph, Capt. Loftus, for Barbados" (Boston News Letter, January 12, 1738, p. 2/1).

"We are inform'd by a Letter from Philadelphia, That the Eastern Nobleman Shich Sibi, before he sail'd from thence for Barbadoes, was very handsomely entertain'd there, and had 300 Pistoles bestowed upon him" (ibid. January 12, 1738, p. 2/2).

[1] Rev. Hull Abbot: see p. 333, above.

[2] Edward Bromfield (*d* 1756): see p. 343 note 8, above.

[3] Edward Winslow.

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p I Preach at Hollis-street Ch, à Luk 14.16.(3) & sup wth R Mr Byles.

6 Tu Died Mrs Jane Davenport, æt 28.[1]

7 W At Lond Import^d^ à Riga 5 Tuns Rough Flax. 940 C of Rough Hemp. Petersburgh, 93,600 Ells Linen. 3100 Ells Duck. 27800 Ells Drilling. 48 Tuns Rough Hemp. Hamboro', 88 Tuns Iron. Holland, 9 C Whalebone. Exported, f^r^ New England, 5000^lb^ Gunpowder. 2000^lb^ Lead shot.

8 Th m R Mr John Cotton[2] Preaches C H f^r^ R Mr Mather, ill. I Dine at Mr Edward Jackson's.

9 F p I att^d^ Mrs Jane Davenports Funeral.

11 Su a I Preach at N S; & R Mr Checkley for me at ye S.

p Dr Sewall Preaches at S Ch

12 M m I Dine wth ye Military Company, at Capt Henchman's.

p I meet ye Min^s^ at Dr Sewall's.

e Br Moses &c:

13 Tu m I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's: His Fath^r^, Cous^n^ Salter He & Bro^r^ Moses wth us.

p I visit ye Govr. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 5 successive hotest Days I ever remember in September.

W & F R Mr Chancy & I go ab^t^ ye Narraganset Farms Affair.

15 Th Very stormy, & I not well, keep wth in Doors.

17 Sa p Br Nath^n^ calls at my House.

18 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall.

p S Ch. T P.

e I Read ye Lett^r^ à ye Major P^t^ of ye Breth^n^ of ye Ch at Bellingham, desir^s^ us to help in a Council of 5 oth^r^ Chh^s^, viz Old North New North Boston, 1st Ch of Glocester, Ch of Hopkinton, Ch at Leicester, on W Oct. 5.

19 M m I Dine at Mr Isaac Walker's.

20 Tu m Mr Secretary Willard & I ride round thro Roxbury to a Meet^s^ of a Com^ttee^ of ye Overseers in ye Coll^s^ Library; w^r^ we Dine: Aft^r^ Din^r^ I vis^t^ Tommy: y^n^ Return, go on Business, m^k^ our Enquiries, t^k^ down minutes d Præsid^t^ He has b^n^ Remov^s^ his Fam^y^ y^s^ 10 Days &

[1] "On Tuesday last died, and on Friday was Interred, Mrs. *Jane Davenport*, the vertuous Consort of the Rev. Mr. *Addington Davenport*, and was the youngest Daughter of *Grove Hirst*, Esq; Aged about twenty eight Years" (New England Weekly Journal, September 13, p. 2/2). The same paper of April 26, stated that Mr. Davenport (H. C. 1719) succeeded "the late Dr. *Harvard* in King's Chapel in *Boston*, and Mr. *Cutler*, Son of the Rev. Dr. *Cutler*, is to succeed Mr. *Davenport* at Scituate" (p. 2/2). Cf. p. 345 note 4, above.

[2] See p. 333, above.

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is now on ye Spot: & we advis^d^ H^m^ to ent^r^ im̄ed^y^ into his off^ces^ & att^d^ it as far as ye pres^t^ aff^rs^ of his Fam^y^ permits. (2) d Coll^e^ Laws. It is repres^d^ y^t^ s^d^ Laws by being contin^y^ [1] by diverse Pers^ns^, r g^ly^ & m^r^ & m^r^ corrupted ev year. (3) d M^r^ T Pierpoint &c. & adjourn to ye Council Chamber in Boston next Th. p at 3.

e Mr Secretary & I return over Charlestown Ferry.

21 W a Dr Sewall, R Mr Webb, R Mr Gee & I meet at R Mr Thacher's, & write a Let^r^ to R Mr Mills [2] of Bellingham, to enform H^m^ &c & enq^r^ of H^m^ w^t^ applica^n^ h^d^ b^n^ m^d^ to H^m^ by ye aggrieved Breth^n^ &c; & anoth^r^ Lett^r^ to ye s^d^ Breth^n^ to enqr of ym &c:

m I Dine at R Mr Webb's, wth M^r^ T Hubbard, Mr Edwd Jackson, & his m[o]ther,[3] & Mrs Eunice Willa[rd].[4]

22 Th m R Mr Byles Preaches G Lec^r^. Cous^n^ Loring tak^n^ very ill & carried out of Lec^r^. I Dine at Mr James Pemberton's.

p I meet ye Com^toes^ of ye coll^e^ Overseers in ye Council Chamber, & draw up our Report.

23 F We rec^d^ ans^r^ à ye Bellingham Breth^n^.

24 Sa We rec^d^ ans^r^ à Rev Mr Mills.

25 Su a S Ch. T P. L S.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall.

e Dr Sewall Read to ye Ch all 3 Letters: & y^y^ gen^y^ vote to send: chus^e^ ye 2 Deacons & Mr Andrew Elliot.

26 M m Capt Hall sails for London. I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's.

p Min^s^ meet at my House.

27 Tu p Mr Wm Allen's wf & Mrs Fayrweth^r^ visit us. Br Nathan lodges at our House.

28 W a Br Moses sails f^r^ Sheepscot. At 9 I set out wth Mr Edwd Jackson in his chaise, for coll^e^, to ye Installm^t^ of Præsid^t^ Holyoke: rode round thro Roxbury: I went to Tom̄ys Chamber, y^n^ to ye Overseers in ye Library.

At 11½ we all went into ye Hall. Dr Sewall Begins wth Prayer: Govr Belcher adresses ye Præsid^t^ in a Latin speech: ye Præsid^t^ Replys in Latin: y^n^ I Pray: we conclude wth singing *Ps. 78. 1–7.* y^n^ ye Overseers go up to ye Library. At 1½, we go into ye Hall to Dinner. ye Præsid^t^

[1] This word is difficult to read and may not be correctly interpreted; besides which a word — probably "copied" — has apparently been inadvertently omitted. The meaning is that the "Laws by being continually copied by divers persons, are generally and more and more corrupted every year."

[2] Rev. Jonathan Mills: see p. 334, above.

[3] See p. 335 note 1, above.

[4] Probably Eunice Willard, a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Willard (H. C. 1659).

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craves a Bless^{g}, sets at ye Gov^{s} Left Hand; Lt Govr Phips at the Gov^{s} Right. R Mr Webb Returns Thanks. We sing *Ps. 132. 13–16.* I go into Mr Flint's Br Nathan's & son Tom̄y's Chambers.[1]

Sun ½ Hour high, Mr Jackson & I set out thro Roxbury Home.

29 Th m R Mr Thacher Preaches G Lec^{r}. I Dine wth R Mr Hooper at Mr Peter Oliver's.

p Catechize the children.

e I was at ye Libera Societas

30, F p I Preach'd ye Sacramental Lec^{r} at Brattle Street f^{r} R Mr Chauncy, à Mat. 8.–17(4).

Oct. 2 Su a S Ch. T P. Ps. 119.25.

p French Ch.[2] Mat. 9.–13. (1)

4 Tu e *My Dr Deborah c^{ms} Home à Leicester*: a joyfull Even^{g}.

5 W 2 Councils meet at Bellingham: 1 of 4 Chh^{s} cal'd by ye ppl, & another of 7 Chh^{s} cal'd by R Mr Mills. Y^{e} ppl sent to ye S Ch in Boston, & ye S Ch chose messengers, but I not going, Dr Sewall fail'd; & also ye s^{d} messengers.

6 Th m G Lec^{r}. Dr Sewall.

9 Su a West Ch. T P. Ps. 63.2.(1)

p S Ch. T P. Ps. 119.25.

13 Th a Gen Lec^{r}. T P. Col. 3.15. (1)

16 Su a S Ch. T P. Ps. 51.12. (3)

p S Ch. R Mr Joseph Seccomb, Col. 2.13.[3]

20 Th m G Lec^{r}. R Dr Colman, for R Mr Webb at ye Council at Concord.

23 Su a S Ch. L S. Rev Mr Webb Preaches, & I administ^{r} f^{r} Dr Sewall at Concord.

p S Ch. T. P. Luke.

e North Writing School. T P. Acts.

24 M m I Dine at Home.

p At 2 I set è ov^{r} ye Blew-Hills to Daniel Howard's by 7, & to R Mr Perkins's at Bridgwater by 9. Sup'd & Lodg'd.

25 Tu a I rode thro ye Soldiers & Troopers mustering, to Deacon Carver's by 10 Y^{n} to Br Thacher's at Middleborrô by 12; Din'd, stay'd till 4: Rode to Lieut Spragues at Rochester: Lodg^{d}.

[1] An account of the inauguration in the Boston Evening Post of October 3, p. 2/2, stated that "In the Evening the Windows of the Three Colleges were finely illuminated, while the Chambers rang with melodious Joy and Singing."

[2] This was in School Street, the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier being pastor.

[3] The Boston News Letter of December 1, p. 2/1, stated that on the previous Wednesday the Rev. Joseph Seccombe "was Install'd into the Pastoral Office at *Kingston* in the Province of New Hampshire" (p. 2/1).

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26 W Spent allmost all Day in Transcribing è ye Records: Rode to Rev Mr Ruggles's [1] y^ne^ to Elisha Wings. Lodg'd wth Humphry Wade of Sandwich.

27 Th Elisha Wing & I rode to Jireh Swift's at Aggawam, to leav my Lett^rs^ for Col & Br Bourn; y^ne^ to Cromessit Little Neck, Meas^d^ ye Length à ye upp^r^ House to ye lower end: y^ne^ return'd to s^d^ wing's & Lodg'd.

28 F a We meas^d^ ye S W^n^ side of s^d^ neck.

p meas^d^ ye NE^n^ side of s^d^ neck, & lodg'd at s^d^ wing's ag^n^.

29 Sa a I Rode to R Mr Ruggles's: Drew out P^t^ of ye Plan: Lodg'd.

30. Su a R Mr Ruggles Preach'd & admin^d^ ye L Sup^r^.

p I Preach'd à *Mat. 19.-13.* (2)

31 M m Wrote by R Mr Ruggles to my wife, went on wth my Plan: & at noon rode down to Elisha Wing's, y^ne^ to Paton's. At 2 Paton comes in à Canterbury. At 3 Br Moses comes in à Boston. He came à Boston Sa Morn^g^ & kept Sabath at Br Thacher's. We lodg'd at Saml Edwards's in ye lower House.

Nov. 1 Tu a Br Moses & I & Edwards meas^d^ across ye Neck ag^st^ ye low^r^ Houses à ye NE^n^ to ye SW^n^ side &c. Din'd at Edwards's. PM, we meas^d^ à ye lowest Fence on ye NE^n^ side all round to ye SE^n^ Point, w^r^ Br *Bourn* met us: y^ne^ round to ye s^d^ Fence on ye SW^n^ side. Br *Bourn*, *Moses* & *I* went & lodg^d^ at Elisha Wings.

2 W a Early ye morn^g^ we sent Jedediah for Capt Hamond surveyor, W^o^ came at 10: At noon we went to ye lowest Fence on ye SW^n^ side, & corrected our survey à y^ne^ up to ye House: & all went to E Wing's. At 8 Br *Nathan* c^m^ in & y^r^ we all lodg'd.

3 Th Wet w^r^. We computed ye contents of ye Upl^d^ of s^d^ Neck: & agreed on a Division: & y^r^ all lodg'd ag^n^.

4 F a We sign'd our agreem^t^. Br Bourn, Moses & Nathan, wth Capt Hamond & E Wing went to ye Neck; Hamond & Wing to survey & Divide it; Br Bourn & Moses to Lease it to Edwards; Br Nathan to see it. At noon I left E Wings, rode to Lt Sprague's, view'd y^e^ Record, rode to Br Thacher's by Dark: Br Nathan arriv^g^ just at y^e^ same Time, Br Moses a little after. Lodg'd. Jedidiah Wing's acc^t^ c^m^ to

3^l^ 3^s^ Bording
5 Going for Capt Hamond.

3. 8 ÷ 7 = 9^s^ 8^d^ rem 4^d^
3
I p^d^ 29. 0

[1] Rev. Timothy Ruggles: see p. 334, above.

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for myself, Br N & Sist^{r} M^{cy}.
Br Moses p^{d} Edwards, $22^{s} \div 7 = 3^{s}.2$
3

Of w^{e} I P^{d} Br Moses 9,6
f^{r} mysf, Br N & Sist^{r} Mercy
so Br Nathan ows me $9^{s}\ 8^{d} + 3^{s}\ 2^{d} = 12^{s}\ 10$

5 Sa a At 7 I set out, Baited at Thomas Ames & Howard's at Bridgwater North Precinct; at y^{e} last of w^{e} Places Br Moses overtook me. Rode & Din'd at Daniel Howard's, c^{m} ov^{r} y^{e} Blew Hills, Home by Dark.

6 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall Preach'd.

p Sch. T P Preach'd.

7 M m I Din'd at M^{r} T Hubbards.

p I attend ye Min^{s} meet^{g} at ye R Mr Foxcrofts I comunic^{d} R Mr Clap[1] of Newport's Memorial, wth his ppl's Let^{r} for anoth^{r} Minist^{r}. & we rec^{d} Mr Andrews's Let^{r} à Philadelphia d Mr Marshal.

8 Tu m I Din'd wth Br Moses at Cous^{n} Loring's.

10 Th m R Mr Checkley Preaches Gen Lec^{r} I Dine wth R Mr Chancy at Mr Brandon's.

e Major Keys visits me.[2]

13 Su a S Ch. T P. Ps. 65.1.

p S Ch. R Mr Chancy. 1. Thes. 5. 18. Dr Sewall being confin'd.

14 M a Br of S Ch & cong meet: w^{n} I open ye meet^{g} as mod^{r}. Voted (1) ye Min^{s} add^{n} to b m^{d} up £100 each to 8^{br} last. (2) A collec next Gen Thanksgiv^{g} for Charitab & Pious uses. &c &c

17 Th a Gen Thanksgiv^{g} S Ch. Dr Sewall. Zech. 9. 17. (1) At ye end of ye Forenoon exrcise I inform ye congrega of ye vote on M for a collec^{n} ye PM, for charitab & Pious uses.

[1] Rev. Nathaniel Clap: see p. 333, above.

[2] Though not mentioned by Mr. Prince, the following extracts relating to a bell for the West Church are worth quoting:

A fine Bell is bro't hither from London in Capt. *Cary*, for the Meeting House in the West Part of the Town, whereof the Rev. Mr. *Hooper* is Minister: 'Tis said to be the largest Bell in New England, weighing Eleven Hundred Weight (New England Weekly Journal, November 8, p. 2/1).

On Saturday last the large Bell mentioned in some of our News Papers, was Raised, and placed in the Steple of the West Church in this Town, whereof the Rev. Mr. *Hooper* is Pastor; and by good Judges is allowed to have the loudest and most melodious Sound of any Bell in the Country; and we are inform'd was the generous Present of *Francis Wilks*, Esq; and some of his Friends, who are well Wishers to the Dissenting Protestant Interest. The Bell weighs, without the Clapper, twelve hundred and forty six Pounds (ibid. November 15, p. 2/2).

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m Br Nathan Din'd wth us.

p S Ch. T P. Hab. iii. 17, 18. Collected — £.113.10.0

20 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall. Pro. 9.1–6. L S.

p S Ch. T P. Luke. 12.19.(2)

21 M m I Dine at Mr T. Hubbard's.

p Min^s^ meet at R Mr Checkley's: But Dear Dr Williams[1] being very ill, & Desir^s^ we w^d^ c^m^ & Pray at his House; y^y^ adjourn'd Thith^r^; w^r^ Dr Collman, Dr Sewall & I Pray'd to sunset. Aft^r^ w^e^, we went to R Mr Cooper's, & Discours^d^ d Address^s^ ye K &c by our xt^r^ Agent Judg Quincy[2] going over ab^t^ ye Line.

22 Tu e Hon^b^ A Winthrop & A Stoddard Esq^s^, F Brinley Esq, Jonas Clark & I ye Rutl^d^ Com^tee^, meet at Mr Jonas Clark's, Preparatory to ye Gen Meet^s^ of ye Propr^s^ to morrow. While we r togeth^r^, Hon^b^ John Jeffries our Treas^r^ meets wth us, giv [*blank*]

23 W p At 3 I meet wth Rutland Proprietors at ye Exchange Tavern: w^n^ we 1st Draw Lots, viz f^r^ 1st Divis^n^ Lots in NE^ly^ Q^r^, & I drew [*blank*][3]

24 Th m R Mr Welsted Preaches Gen Lec^r^.

27 Su a S Ch. Dr Sewall. Zech. 9.17. (2)

p S Ch. T P. Ps. 116.12.

Dec. 1 Th m R Mr Chauncy Preaches C H. I Dine at Mr Isaac Walker's.

p. Tomy c^m^ 2^oo^ à Coll^s^, & went back: & Br D. Denny c^m^ à Leicester & lodg'd.

e At ye Sale of M^r^ S Mather's old Books, at ye Crown-Coffe House near Scarlets Wharff.[4]

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[1] Rev. Nathaniel Williams (H. C. 1693). The following obituary notice appeared in the Boston News Letter of January 12, 1738:

Last Tuesday in the Afternoon died here the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Nathanael Williams*, a Gentleman who has been a faithful and upright Servant to his Generation; being for many Years Master of the South Grammar School in this Town, which difficult and important Business he discharg'd with great Industry and Fidelity: And as he was, by the Blessing of GOD, a very skilful and successful Physician, so he was very much imployed and approved among us. As his Life has been very extensively serviceable, so his Death is esteemed as a publick Loss (p. 2/1).

On his death, Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon.

[2] Edmund Quincy (H. C. 1699).

[3] An advertisement, signed "Jonas Clarke, *Proprietor's Clerk*," "*to' Notify the Proprietors of RUTLAND (the Settlers part excepted) that their Meeting is adjourned to* Wednesday *the 23d Currant, to be held at the* Exchange Tavern *in this Town at Three o'Clock Afternoon*," etc., was printed in the Boston Evening Post of November 21, p. 2/2.

[4] The following advertisements appeared in the New England Weekly Journal:

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2 F p At 4 I meet wth Coll^s^ Overseers in ye Council Chāber, d Profes^r^ Greenwood.[1] Col Prescot consented to ye vote of ye corpora^n^, to t^k^ ye Apparatus in y^r^ Hands: But upon my motion agreed to notify H^m^ of ye Corpora^n^ 2 other votes d H^m^, y^t^ He may shew Reasons w^y^ we sh^d^ not concur wth y^m^ on next Th p, at 4.

e Br D Denny went Homew^d^.

3 Sa m I Din'd at Capt. Osborne's

4 Su a S Ch. T P.

p Hollis Street Ch T P.

e R Mr Byles Preaches at ye Charity meeting. Collec. 99^l^. 4^s^

5 M m R Mr Byles & I Dine at M^r^ T Hubbard's.

p We go down to Min^s^ Meet^s^ at R Mr Welsted's: Agree on an Address to ye King, by Col Quincy agent. Y^r^ r also Letters to 1. D of Newcastle. 2 L Harringon. 3 E of Wilmington. 4 Sr Robt Walpole. 5. Mr Holden. 6. Drs Harris, Watts, Guise, & Mr Neal.[2]

7 W n Betw^n^ Th & F, at 11½, a *considerable shock of an e^n^quake.*[3] My *wife & I, & 3 D^rs^* being all up together.

8 Th m R Mr Hooper Preaches Gen Lec^r^. à Ro. 14.17. Br Nathan & I Dine wth Dr Russel of Barnstable at Joshua Winslow Esqr. Country Min^s^ at my House to Agree to ye Address & Letters.

TO be sold at publick Vendue by *Ephraim Baker* at the Crown Tavern at the Head of *Scarlett's* Wharff the North End of Boston, on Wednesday next the 30th Instant.

A Choice and Valuable Collection of Books in Folios, Quartoes, and Octavoes, the Folioes will be Sold separate, the others in Lots or Parcels; the Sale will begin at Three o'Clock Afternoon: Catalogues will be given gratis, at the Place of Sale any Time before the Sale begins. . . . (November 29, p. 2/3).

THE remaining and most valuable Parcel of *BOOKS* as Advertis'd in our last, to be Sold at the Crown Tavern, the North End *Boston*, at publick Vendue by *Ephraim Baker*, are to be sold at publick Vandue, by said *Baker* at the Place afore mentioned, with a large variety of English Goods, . . .

N. B. The Sale will begin Wednesday the 7th Current at Three o'Clock Afternoon, and will be continued Three Days successively (December 6, p. 2/3).

[1] Isaac Greenwood (H. C. 1721), the first Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, was dismissed for intemperance in 1738.

[2] Sir Thomas Pelham-Holles, first Duke of Newcastle; William Stanhope, first Earl of Harrington; Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington; Samuel Holden (*d* 1740), whose widow and children built Holden Chapel; Rev. William Harris (1675–1740); Rev. Isaac Watts (1674–1748); Rev. John Guyse (1680–1761); Rev. Daniel Neal (1678–1743).

[3] There is much about the earthquake in the Boston News Letter of December 8, 1737, p. 2/1; December 22, pp. 1/2, 2/1; December 29, p. 2/1; January 12, 1738, p. 2/1.

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p At 4 I attended Coll^{s} Overseers meet^{g} in ye Council Chamber. W^{n} ye corpora^{n} Presented anoth^{r} Vote for Mr Greenwood's Dismission: But on my motion, agreed to notify H^{m} of ye same, y^{t} He may shew Reas^{n} we sh^{d} not concurr with it, next Th at 3 p m.

9 F a I go down to R Mr Webb's & Mather's ab^{t} ye Letter.

m Brs Moses, Nathan & D Denny Dine wth us.

e Wrote a Lett^{r} f^{r} Mrs Fellows.

11 Su a S Ch. T P.

p C H. T P.

e Mrs Fellows & Mrs Sarah Cotton sup with us

12 M m R Mr Byles & I go to R Mr Chancys & Checkley's ab^{t} ye Letters. Dine at Mr T. Hubbard's. Go to Mr Isaac Walker's; Borrow his chair; ride to R Mr Walter's, R Mr Allen's,[1] R Mr Appleton's, College; come Home at 7. A very cold Day. I vis^{t} Dr Williams &c.

13 Tu Ill of a g^{t} Cold, stay wthin.

14 W p At 2½, I went to ye Govr ab^{t} ye Letters. At 5 Mr Samuel Sparrow of London, visits me. He is ye 2^{d} Son of Mr Sparrow of Lanham, w^{o} was ye only son of M^{r} [*blank*] Sparrow of Hitcham, between Combs & Lanham. Uncle Mayhew[2] c^{ms} & stays wth me till 9.

15 Th m R Mr Mather Preaches C H.

18 Su a S Ch. R Mr Checkley. L S.

p NS. T P. *Acts 2. 38.* (1)

19 M m I Dine at Mr T. Hubbard's.

p I attend Min^{s} meet^{g} at R Mr Gees; w^{r} y^{y} confer wth R Mr Hooper, w^{o} h giv^{n} g^{t} offence both in his serm & Pray^{r} at ye Pub Lec^{r}.[3]

22 Th m R Mr Byles Preaches Gen Lec^{r} I Dine at Mr Andrew Oliver's R Mr Gee & [*blank*] with us.

25 Su a S Ch. T P. *Pet. 3.9.* (2). Exceeding cold.

p S Ch. Dr Sewall. *Joh. 5.39.*

26 M m I Din'd at Mr T. Hubbard's.

29 Th m R Dr Colman Preaches Gen Lec^{r} Govr send^{g} for me, I Dine wth Him & Dr Colman, &c.

Mr. EDES announced the gift to the Society from Mrs. Gay of two valuable collections of manuscripts, and on his motion it was unanimously —

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[1] Rev. James Allen: see p. 333, above.

[2] Rev. Experience Mayhew (*d* 1758): see p. 346 note, above.

[3] Early in 1740 Mr. Hooper again gave offence: see The West Church and its Ministers (1856), pp. 63–77; Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, v. 122–126.

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Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay for her most acceptable gift of the manuscript private records of the Rev. Mather Byles and the Rev. Ebenezer Wight, ministers of the Church in Hollis Street, Boston, from 1732 to 1789; and the Lovell papers pertaining to the Penobscot Expedition of 1779, together with two rare printed pamphlets pertaining thereto.

The Society embraces this opportunity again to record its grateful appreciation of the manifold expressions of Mr. Gay's unflagging interest in all its undertakings, his generous gifts, and his personal service in aiding in many and various ways the work of the Society's officers and members during the twenty-three years of his active fellowship.

Mr. EDES also called attention to an original portrait of the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft (H. C. 1714), minister of the First Church in Boston, which had recently come into his possession.

Mr. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP gave an account of the twenty years' controversy between the Rev. Nathaniel Stone of Harwich and the Rev. Samuel Osborn of Eastham, the latter of whom, before entering the ministry, was a school teacher at Harwich and later at Plymouth.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE exhibited a letter written June 28, 1748, by Benjamin Colman the younger to Sir William Pepperrell, and spoke as follows:

Lieutenant-Colonel William Ryan had slanderously accused Sir William Pepperrell of improper transactions in military commissions and incidentally had embezzled certain sums of money intended for recruiting. When this letter was written, Ryan had been court-martialled and cashiered (1747) and was the defendant in two actions brought by Sir William — one for defamation of character, the other for debt. The writer of the letter, Benjamin Colman of Boston, was the son of John Colman and the nephew of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman. He was born in 1710.[1] To him Pepperrell had more or less entrusted the conduct of the Ryan affair. His advice appears to have been taken with reference to the suit for defamation of character. As to the suit for debt, that

[1] Our Publications, vi. 87, 89.

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was also settled on terms, and we are informed that Pepperrell eventually got his money.[1]

The letter follows:

Boston, June 28th 1748

Honble Sir

I duly recd your Favour of the 21st Inst I have since the Receipt of it been wth his Excellency Govr Shirley who sent for me to discourse with me on your affair wth Ryan He tells me the Letter he has drawn which will be sent you this Post sign'd by Ryan is in his opinion quite full & was he in your Case he should accept it as more Satisfactory, than a Verdict in his Favour for ye whole sum. Now although I am of Opinion that were you to go on with the suit you might bring him to your own Terms in acknowledging his spreadg the vile Reports & confessing them to be false & scandalous in the Face of ye Court yet considering all Circumstances, relating to Ryan & to ys affair, particularly wt Mr Pratt tells me Govr Shirley asserts, that you were content to leave the affair to him for his procuring you satisfaction & exprest your contentment with ye Letter he drew for Ryan to sign, I say on these Considerations & Mr Pratt joins with me in it I would take ye freedom to give my advice that you accept ye Letter lodged in Court as part of ye Case as satisfactory. Mr Pratt writes you to this purpose this Post & we have engag'd that in Case you do not agree to it that you return it taking no advantage of it & that ye action shall not be called out without giving Ryan Time to put in his Plea wch he may not be able to do till a day or two after ye Return of ye Post after this to you as to ye Action of Debt as it has been hinted there is no Foundation for it I am not clear in advising you to compromise that suddenly, Ryans Bond will be sent you as all ye Security he is able to give, but were it my own Case I should at ye Time refuse that as unsatisfactory. Pray excuse ye Freedom I take with you in presuming to advise you in this affair & believe me to be sincerely

Honble & Dear Sir
Yor most affect & obld Friend
& Hum Servt
BENJ COLMAN

The Honble Sir William Pepperell Bart

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH exhibited a photograph of the first page of a manuscript, now at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, of a work by the Rev. John Cotton, and spoke as follows:

[1] Parsons, Life of Sir William Pepperrell (3rd ed., 1856), pp. 158 ff, 189–190.

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This manuscript, which seems never to have been published, is entitled "A short discourse of Mr. John Cotton touchinge the time when the Lordes day beginneth whether at the Eveninge or in the Morninge." That Cotton was interested in this question, and that his opinion upon it was of consequence in the Massachusetts Bay colony, is known to every reader of the Magnalia. "The sabbath," writes Cotton Mather, "he [John Cotton] began the evening before: for which keeping of the *sabbath from evening to evening*, he wrote arguments before his coming to *New-England:* and I suppose, 'twas from his reason and practice, that the christians of *New-England* have generally done so too."[1] Whether this latter conjecture is well founded may be seriously doubted; but the reasons for doubting it, together with many other points involved, must be deferred until the treatise can be reprinted in our Transactions: at present I wish merely to report the existence and whereabouts of the document.

Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD contributed five letters of John Custis to John Usher, and said:

A twofold interest is associated with the letters now printed, by the courtesy of Mr. William A. Jeffries, from the Usher MSS. They show a commercial connection between Virginia and Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, the continuation of a trade in tobacco from the southern colony which came into being in the earliest years of Massachusetts Bay Plantation, supplemented by shipments of other products, like hides and wheat, to be exchanged for New England rum. As commercial documents they do not differ from a thousand other documents of the same nature, buried in our collections and awaiting the labor of some trained mind to collect and give them a living interest. The personal side is of more interest. The writer, John Custis, belongs to a family whose misfortune it is to appear in print as Curtis quite as often as under the proper spelling, and whose members are distinguished, like most Virginia families, by an alternation of public service and obscurity, not unmarked by eccentricity, making it difficult to say exactly for what characteristic it may be identified. Enough to say that this John Custis

[1] Magnalia (1820), i. 253.

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was the ancestor of Daniel Parke Custis, the first husband of Martha Dandridge, better known as Martha Washington. As such he is also the ancestor of Robert E. Lee, and the name of the place of the first letter — Arlington — is associated with Lee and with the eternal peace between North and South negotiated in 1860–1865. This first Custis was also a Major-General, but served *against* a rebellion[1] — Bacon's — and died in 1696. The family was of Irish extraction, and came to Virginia from Rotterdam. He was three times married, and his third wife, Tabitha, who took him for her fourth husband, contracted to enter for the fifth time into matrimony, in the very year Custis died. Under such circumstances it is unnecessary to detail the various marriages and the connections thus entailed. It may have been a family trait or an application of justice, when the son of this much married man had "differences" with his wife Frances,[2] and a grandson desired to have engraved on his tombstone that he was aged — years when he died, "and yet lived but seven years which was the space of time he kept a Batchelors House at Arlington on the Eastern Shore of Virginia."[3]

I

Sir, — The Master desires me to Informe you that the Cause of his so long stay hear was, that the tobacco that was due for Mr. Peas[4] from the People, was not Redy for want of seasons, which in Truth was a great while. in so much that I Bated the master 6*d* per diem for forty fiue daies, I agreed with Mr. Peas for Aighteen pence a day and I charged but twelve pence becaus of the time was long and lay great part Idle. My wife hath sent your Lady A Tub with A tree of Rosmary with her seruice and mine as also to your self. I am, Sir, your very Homble Serut.

JNO. CUSTIS.

Arlington: 2d April, 1687.

II

Sir, — Since the clearing of the Sloup *Jno. and Sweet* the wind beeing bad and the wether foule Caused the Master [to] stay and Coming

[1] There is a statement of his loyalty in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 69. Some account of him is in Wise, The Kingdome of Accawmacke (1911).

[2] Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, iv. 65.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xliii. 4–16.

[4] Samuel Pease.

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Ashore tould me was not full Loaden. I have sent and putt on bord twenty seauen hides, which I desire you dispose for my best advantage and returne the produce In Rum. they are marked with brand mark C. they way 602 lb. bill of lading hear Inclosed tels you the fraight. I have nothing to ad but my seruice and am, Sir, your Homble Seruant,

JNO. CUSTIS.

Accomack, Aprill 4th: 1687.

III

VIRGINIA, 19th Augt., 1687.

Sir, — I did the first of Aprill last put on board the *Jno. and Sweet* Sloop, Jno. Wisewell Commander, one hundred Bushlls. of Wheat and 27 Oxe-hides containing 602 *lbs*: and Consigned to your self, desireing you to dispose of them for my use. I likewise then sent you Wisewell's Bill of Exch. for eleuen pounds forteen and seuen pence, and ordred you to keep the mony in your Hands till further orders from Coll. Bacon, or my self, but now desire you to send it in rum alsoe, only 50 *lb.* of the Best hopps which must be paid for out of the same money. enclosed also is a second bill of Lading for the wheat one Wisewell with another for the Hides. Sir, since I sent this goods here hath been seuerall Vessells from Boston, but I neuer had the happiness of a line from you, makes me Doubt the receiuing of the same. Sir, I begg a line or 2 by this Bearer Mr. Adam Michaell whether you haue receiued and disposed of it which will oblidge me. I am, Sir, your very Homble Serut.

JNO. CUSTIS.

IV

Sir, the Ketch *Industrey* being forced back by bad weather etc. to Virginia, Mr. Adam Michael hath been discouraged to proceed to Boston, I haue this only to ad to what aboue. A line or twoe from your selfe about the premises; the bill of exch. drawn by Jno. Wisewell on your self is £11: 14:7. the barer hearof now is A Naybor of mine Gilbert more. pray send by him and it will come to your Homble Serut.

JNO. CUSTIS.

V

VIRGINIA, 9 ber. 14th: 1687.

Sir, — The above was A Coppy of what intended to be sent by Mr. Michaell who mett with some disscouragements, and so left his designe, soe that I committed my letters to one Gilbert More (A neare Neighbor) who promised mee to deliver the same with his owne hands and since tells me he delivered it to your man in your absence: and that he was

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several times at your house enquireing for an Answer: the trueth thereof I suspect because (notwithstanding my earnest desire to you) I recd. noe answer thereof neither by him or any other, allthough here hath arived three vessells since I wrote.

I know not how to advize, more than have allready, by reason know not whether the bill of Exch. is accepted by you: allthough have reason to think the goods came safe to your hands. I still desire to heare from you by the first opertunity and allso to make mee full returnes for what effects of mine is in your hands according to my former order, sent from your humble Servt.

JNO. CUSTIS.

[*Addressed*]

To John Usher Esqr. Merchant In Boston N: England. Per Mr. Tho: Prince. D. G.[1]

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE spoke as follows:

Among the papers of the Dedham Historical Society there is a brief correspondence of Captain Charles Harrison and Captain Thomas Martin, owner and master, respectively, of the schooner Laurel, from August 10, 1749, to June 16, 1757. These papers tell of a little coasting trade between northern ports and Virginia and Maryland, in molasses, rum, fish and other products. Captain Harrison is first in New York, then in 1751 he is addressed in care of the Widow Kent "in Bromfield's Lane, Boston," and later in Philadelphia, "with Mr. Reese Meredith, Merchant." One of the papers is a receipted bill of Joseph Kent for expenses of "going Down to Falmouth," and for drawing writs, £50.5.

Captain Harrison bought of John Allen, cordwainer, on August 5, 1763, a house and land at the northwest corner of Castle and Orange (now Washington) Streets. The date of his death is not found, but his first will was dated April 28, 1766, and another was made on November 11, 1768, but signed by only two witnesses. Both were recorded and proved on August 2, 1769.[2] He writes himself as "at the present time Residing in the Town of Boston in New Engl[d]." He left a legacy of £1000 to the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia, to two daughters of Dr. Thomas Adney of Bridgworth in Shropshire, England, £200, to his heirs-at-law, 5s, to his

[1] This last letter is only signed by Custis.

[2] Suffolk Probate Records, lxviii. 181, 183.

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wife's niece, Rebecca Chambers who "lives with us now," £50, and if she should marry with the full approbation of her aunt, £50 more, and the rest and residue "in Boston, Carolina, or any Part of the World belonging to me" he left to his wife Esther. The witnesses to the first will are Sutton Boyles, Richard Gridley, and Joseph Jackson.

Mrs. Harrison was married to Dr. John Sprague of Dedham on December 27, 1770. She died on October 5, 1811, at the age of 83 years, having survived her husband more than thirteen years. By her will dated May 23, 1811, and a division of the estate late in that year, the property in Dedham went to Elizabeth D., wife of Samuel Swett, the house and land in Orange Street, Boston, to John and Lawrence Sprague, grandchildren of Dr. Sprague, and other property to Samuel Swett.

The chief interest in calling attention to these papers is that their descent through the Dedham family helps to distinguish this Captain Charles Harrison from another of the same name, who was a bookseller and bookbinder in Boston. The bookseller[1] was born and brought up as a binder in England, published some religious works, and is said to have served as a soldier at Louisburg in 1745, and died soon after. His shop in 1739 was over against the Brazen Head in Cornhill.

[1] Thomas, History of Printing (Albany, 1874), ii. 225.)

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ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1917

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Wednesday, 21 November, 1917, at a quarter before seven o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved without being read.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. GEORGE BURTON ADAMS accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. FREDERIC ADRIAN DELANO of Washington, D. C., was elected a Corresponding Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read on behalf of the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

There has been no departure during the past year from our usual custom of holding five stated meetings. Four of these have been at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Society can make no other return for this hospitality than to put itself again on record as deeply grateful for the Academy's steadfast kindness. The fifth meeting, in April, was held at the home of our Treasurer, Mr. Henry H. Edes, in Cambridge.

Papers of substantial size and quality have been communicated during the year, and the Society's Transactions will be found to have been maintained at the customary high level.

Since the last annual meeting, Volume XVIII, consisting of Transactions, has been distributed. Volume XIX, also of Transactions, from November, 1916, to April, 1917, is at present in type to

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page 371, and will doubtless be ready for distribution in the spring. The text of Volumes XV and XVI, containing the Corporation Records of Harvard College down to 1750, is wholly in type and will, it is hoped, be distributed before long. Other volumes, as yet unnumbered, but containing the Royal Instructions, are engaging the Editor's constant attention. The material for these volumes, most of which has had to be dug out of the documents in the Public Record Office in London, is now wholly in hand, but has not as yet gone to the printer.

Our publications are selling a little better each year. Our customers are not only public institutions and government agencies, but ordinary book-stores in various parts of the country.

Three more members have commuted their annual dues, thus increasing that portion of our invested funds to $6400. The Council confidently recommends that every member of the Society patronize our local Tetzel, and purchase for himself such an indulgence. It is good for life; it costs but $100; and best of all, it is guaranteed against the machinations of any stray Luther that may see fit to assail its validity.

The Society receives by the will of our late associate, George Vasmer Leverett, the sum of $20,000, which brings our total endowment almost up to $100,000. Mr. Leverett's generosity was of so unostentatious a sort that but a few of our members know that the entire cost of publishing the volume of Royal Commissions was borne by him, a matter of between two and three thousand dollars.

Elections during the year have been as follows: to Resident Membership:

NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER;

and to Corresponding Membership:

EDMUND BURKE DELABARRE,
WILLIAM MACDONALD,
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

Deaths during the year have been as follows:

RICHARD OLNEY, a leader of the Massachusetts Bar, and a statesman of international fame; a Puritan in his moral rectitude and courage; simple, unassuming, unaloof, as only great men can afford to be.

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GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT, nature's nobleman, unaffected, open-handed, rich in friendships, loyal to everything that merits a good man's loyalty; whose death deprives this Society of a familiar and well-beloved presence, and of a generous and reliable supporter.[1]

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE, Ambassador from the United States at the Court of St. James; a wise and tactful diplomat, a brilliant jurist, a man of rare cultivation, who, not satisfied merely to command men's admiration by the power of his intellect, has, by the enchantment of his friendship, made all men love him.

The complete roll of those elected to Honorary Membership in this Society since its founding is as follows:

MELVIN WESTON FULLER,
EDWARD JOHN PHELPS,
GROVER CLEVELAND,
JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE,
JAMES COOLIDGE CARTER,
SIMON NEWCOMB,
SAMUEL PIERPONT LANGLEY,
JOHN HAY,
ANDREW DICKSON WHITE,
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL,
ELIHU ROOT,
JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN,
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

In view of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society, which we mark at this meeting to-night, it is not inappropriate to make this

[1] At a meeting of the Council held 1 November, 1917, the following minute was unanimously adopted:

It is with deep sorrow that the Council has learned of the death, on the eighteenth of October, of its associate, GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT. Long a member of the Society, and thrice a member of this Board, Mr. Leverett was constant in attendance, wise and judicious in counsel, and generous in aiding our every undertaking. His character, eminent ability, unaffected modesty and rarely sympathetic personality endeared him to all who were privileged to enjoy his friendship, and cause his death to be deeply lamented. His munificence enabled the Society to publish the volume containing the Royal Commissions, and his noble bequest of Twenty Thousand Dollars, to be added to our Publication Funds, will make it possible to print companion volumes containing the Instructions to the Royal Governors of the Province, — an undertaking he had authorised and had much at heart.

Much that President Quincy wrote, long ago, of his noble predecessor, John Leverett, might be said to-day with equal truth of our late associate:

"The abilities of Leverett seem to have been of a superior order, which the events of his life had enabled him to improve and refine by an extensive intercourse with books and mankind. His talents were eminently practical. He knew better than most men what course to shape in difficult times. . . . In all his official relations, his industry, vigor and fidelity were conspicuous and exemplary. He was a man more actuated by a sense of duty than by desire of fame. . . . In the character of Leverett there was no obtrusive display. . . . He studied

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Council Report something of a review of the Society's achievements. These achievements consist principally in the Publications which the Society has issued. Up to the year 1904, the first twelve years of its existence, the editorial work of the Society was done by a volunteer committee, who necessarily had to make this work second in importance to their own personal vocations. In these twelve years therefore, there were issued four volumes of Publications, an average of one every three years. These were, —

1896 . . Volume I,	1902 . . Volume V,
1900 . . Volume III,	1904 . . Volume VI.

It became evident that the Society must have an Editor. His salary was supplied by the generous subscriptions of a few members. He took over the entire charge of the Publications in January, 1905; and from that date to the present time, twelve volumes of Publications have been printed and distributed, an average of almost one a year. These are, —

1905 . . Volume VII,	1911 . . Volume XII,
1906 . . Volume VIII,	1912 . . Volume XIII,
1907 . . Volume IX,	1913 . . Volumes II and XIV,
1908 . . Volume X,	1916 . . Volume XVII,
1910 . . Volumes IV and XI,	1917 . . Volume XVIII.

In addition, there are the various volumes mentioned above, as still in preparation. These contain matter of great value, demanding great editorial care and assiduity. They will be a conspicuous addition to the Society's list of achievements; but it seems safe to say that their publication would have been a hopeless task had not the Society adopted the policy of engaging the services of a salaried Editor.

Another achievement, in which the Society takes infinite satisfaction, and which is worthy of mention in this report, is the

not to gratify vanity, but to enable himself better to perform his duty. His labors were practical, and . . . he prepared himself for the various and important stations to which he was called. . . . A perfect fulfillment of whatever he undertook was the object to which he limited his endeavors. At this he aimed; in this he succeeded."

We shall miss his presence, instinct with good-will and kindliness; we shall cherish his memory and the example he has left us of faithfulness in friendship, breadth of interest, and loyalty to every trust and every duty.

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erection in the First Church in Boston of a beautiful memorial doorway to commemorate the life and distinguished services of Thomas Hutchinson, the last but one of the Royal Governors of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

The Colonial Society has long felt that Governor Hutchinson's name has been unduly beclouded by the fact that he was heartily and conscientiously royalist in his sympathies, and that his services to Massachusetts as Governor, Chief Justice, and historian, are of a quality and an extent to justify cordial and permanent recognition.

The cost of this doorway was met by the unhesitating generosity of members of the Society. The inscription was prepared by our associate George Lyman Kittredge. The design is the work of our associate Richard Clipston Sturgis. The memorial was appropriately placed in the First Church, with which Hutchinson, both by ancestry and by personal interest, was closely identified.

Dedication exercises were held in the church on the afternoon of November 5, the principal address being delivered by our associate James Kendall Hosmer, and briefer addresses by our associates Arthur Prentice Rugg, Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, and Samuel Eliot Morison.[1]

[1] The exercises are printed below, pp. 413–435.

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Thomas Hutchinson Memorial Doorway
First Church in Boston

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 19 November, 1917.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 16 November, 1916		$119.77
Admission Fees	$10.00	
Annual Assessments	620.00	
Commutation of the Annual Dues	300.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	139.14	
Sales of the Society's paper	13.06	
Contribution from a member	5.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	900.00	
Interest	3,816.08	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	700.00	
George V. Leverett, demand loan without interest	750.00	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	15,000.00	22,253.28
		$22,373.05

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	$2,281.78	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure	280.37	
Folsom Engraving Company	152.10	
S. D. Warren & Co., paper	1,125.34	
Mary A. Tenney, indexing]	100.00	
Clerk hire	70.10	
Albert Matthews, salary as Editor of Publications	1,000.00	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light, and janitor service	20.00	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	24.00	
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals	440.05	
Mortgages on improved Real Estate in Boston	16,500.00	
Interest in adjustment	208.20	22,251.94
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 19 November, 1917		121.11
		$22,373.05

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$74,750.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston
250.00	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
$75,000.00	

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TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash	$121.11	
Income	1,328.89	$1,450.00
Mortgages	74,750.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	250.00	75,000.00
		$76,450.00

CREDITS

Henry H. Edes	$700	
George V. Leverett	750	$1,450.00
Editor's Salary Fund	200	
Publication Fund	10,000	
General Fund	13,300	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000	
William Watson Fund	1,000	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	500	75,000.00
		$76,450.00

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 19 November, 1917

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 19 November, 1917, have attended to their duty and report, that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them. This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, certified public accountant.

NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER
CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN
Committee

BOSTON, 20 November, 1917

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The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year presented the following candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected.

PRESIDENT
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS

On behalf of Mr. CHARLES M. ANDREWS, a Corresponding Member, the following communication was made:

"STATE OF THE TRADE," 1763

In my paper on The Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement, presented at the meeting in February of this year,[1] emphasis was laid on the fact that the Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce was formed in Boston in April, 1763, for the immediate purpose of preventing the renewal of the Molasses Act of 1733, which was due to expire in 1764. To this end, the first business of the society was to draft a "State of the Trade," in which the burdens of the act, as far as they concerned Massachusetts Bay, were to be presented as forcibly as possible. This "State" was duly drawn up by Thomas Gray and Edward Payne, to whom the task was assigned,

[1] Pp. 159–259, above.

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and copies were sent to the Massachusetts General Court, to the Province's agent in England, and to the merchants of the adjoining colonies, that all might coöperate in bringing about the defeat of the obnoxious measure. I was able at the time to give the main facts of the situation, but could not furnish a copy of the "State" itself, although I instituted a search in England, and in the archives of Massachusetts and Connecticut. In default of the original document, I was obliged to content myself with conjectures as to what the "State" probably contained.

A few weeks ago, when discussing with Mr. Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society and editor of its publications, the proposed contents of the volume of Fitch Papers, soon to be issued by the society, I was struck by his account of a document found in the Connecticut Archives which he proposed to include in the collection. My hope that this document was the desired "State" was realized when Mr. Bates very kindly sent me a photostat copy of the original and a transcript of the accompanying letter, which proves the identity without question. These papers had eluded my search, because filed in a volume labelled "Revolutionary War." With Mr. Bates's permission I present here the two documents: the accompanying letter, signed by four men, probably the Standing Committee, which confirms in all particulars the statements made on pages 166 and 167 of my paper; and the "State," a document unique of its kind and very valuable for the light it throws on the fishery of the Province and the commercial relations with Great Britain.

Boston Jan^{ry} 9th 1764

Gent^{n}

The Act commonly known by the Name of the Sugar Act has long & justly been complain'd of by the Northern Colonies as a great Grievance; and should it be continued & put in Execution, with any Degree of Rigour (as is like to be the Case here after) it will give a Mortal Wound to the Peace of these Colonies.

As this Act is now about to expire, it behoves us all to unite our endeavors to prevent, if possible, the revival of it.

To this Purpose the Merchants in this Town, sometime since, met together and chose a Committee to prepare a State of the Trade of this Province, so far as it is affected by this act; to collect what Facts & Arguments might occur to them, proper to be urged against the Re-

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newal of it, & to draw up & present to our General Court a Memorial praying they would make Application by their Agent at home, in order to obtain Relief. In Consequence of this memorial, the Court have raised a large Committee, who have given us a hearing upon the subject, and we are well assured they will send the necessary Instructions to their Agent, and will oppose the Renewal of the Act to the utmost of their Power.

It will not be deny'd that the Trade of all the Governments of North America is affected by this Act. They are all therefore interested in the Affair, and as they have very powerful Antagonists to encounter, the united strength of them all will be necessary, if they mean to do anything to Effect. We therefore address ourselves to you on this Occasion, & inclose you a copy of what we have drawn up, relative to this Matter, desiring you to communicate it to the Merchants of Connecticut, that they may know what is doing here, and may have an Opportunity of assisting us in our Endeavours to defeat the iniquitous Schemes of these overgrown West Indians. We shall not presume to advise in what Manner this may be best done. We shall only say that, besides the public Application made by our General Court, the Merchants here will severally write to their respective Correspondents in England & endeavour to convince them that the Act in Question is, and will be prejudicial to the Trade of Great Britain.

As the Trade of the several Provinces is attended with different circumstances, those Arguments that are pertinent with Regard to one, may not be so with Regard to the others. We, in what we have offered, had in View the Trade of this Province only; and each Government will doubtless make use of those Arguments that are most adapted to their own particular State and Circumstances.

We shall detain you no longer than just to hint that no Time ought to be lost; and to ask Pardon for this Trouble we give you, which as it is designed to serve the Public, we flatter ourselves you will readily excuse.

We are Sirs
Your most obed^{t} Serv^{ts}
Jos. Green
Joshua Winslow
Edward Payne
Thomas [Gray]

Gurdon Salstonstal & Nathl Shaw Esq^{rs}
[Indorsed]
Letter from certain Merchants in Boston.[1]

[1] Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, vol. i, no. 1.

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The "State of the Trade" is as follows:

As the Act, commonly called the Sugar Act, has been passed upwards of thirty years without any Benefit to the Crown, the Duties arising from it, having never been appropriated by Parliament to any particular Use; and as this Act will expire this Winter, the following Considerations are offered as Reasons why it should not be renewed.

FIRST, It is apprehended, that the Trade is so far from being able to bear the high Duties imposed by this Act, that it will not bear any Duty at all. The Price of Molosses at present, is but 12d Sterling per Gallon, at which Price it will barely answer to distil it into Rum for Exportation. Should this Duty be added, it would have the Effect of an absolute Prohibition on the Importation of Molasses and Sugar from the foreign Islands; and consequently the same effect on the Exportation of Fish, Lumber and other Commodities from hence to those Islands; as the French, Dutch and other Foreigners whom we supply with those Articles, will not permit us to bring away their Money; so that unless we can take their ordinary Sugars and Molasses in Return, this Trade will be lost. As we do not import any Rum from the foreign Islands, the Duty on that Commodity is of little Consequence, and Great-Britain would finally pay much more than the Duty on Sugars, if an End should be put to our Trade to the foreign Islands. For should the Colonies be obliged to take from our own Islands all the West-Indian Produce that they consume, the Price in Great-Britain must necessarily advance more than double this Duty. If we are permitted to import foreign Sugars and Molosses into the Northern Colonies, more of our West-India Produce will be carried to Great-Britain, where the Consumption is supposed to be equal to the whole Produce of our Islands.

SECONDLY, The Loss of the Trade to the foreign Islands on which great Part of our other Trade depends, must greatly affect all the Northern Colonies, and entirely destroy the Fishery in this Province, and at Newfoundland likewise, as our own Islands are not capable of taking off above one Third of our West-India Cod-Fish, nor one Quarter of the Mackrell, Shad, Alewives and other small Fish exported from hence. In this Province we have about 300 Sail of Vessels from 45 to 75 Tons, employed in the Cod-Fishery, and about 90 Sail from 25 to 40 Tons in the Mackrell Fishery; these Vessels carry from six to ten men each; the Bankers one with another make 800 Quintals a Vessel, in the Season; (from March to October;) and by an exact Account taken at several of our Fishing Towns, the Proportion of West-India Cod-Fish was about three fifths of the whole Quantity; the Mackrell Vessels get about 200 Barrels a Vessel in the Season. Now as our own Islands take off

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but about one Third of the West-India Cod-Fish, and not more than one Quarter of the Mackrell and other small Fish; the Remainder will be lost if we are prevented from supplying the foreign Islands, there being no other Market where it can be disposed of. The Fishery at present is carried on to very little Profit, and wants all the Encouragement that can possibly be given to support those concerned in it, suppose they had Vent for all their West-India Fish; but should they be deprived of a Market for two Thirds; (which they will be should this act be put in Execution;) the whole Fishery must infallibly be broke up, it being impossible to procure Fish for the European Market separate from the other; the merchantable being such as is culled out of the whole after it is cured, for the European Markets; what remains is fit only for the West-Indies; so that any Interruption in either Branch must be the Destruction of the whole. The manner of carrying on the Fishery is this; the Vessel draws two Eighths after the great General is taken out of the whole; the Shoreman who is generally the Owner has one Eighth for making, and the Fishermen the other five Eighths. Suppose the Vessel makes 800 Quintals, which appears by an exact Account taken last Year to be the Medium, and is estimated as follows, vizt.

			Sterling
340 Quintals fit for the European Markets . . .	at 12/	£204	
460 Quintals of West-India Fish	at 9/ . . .	207	
12 Barrels of Oyl	at 30/ . . .	18	£429
From this Sum of £429 — deduct the great General, which is Salt, Bait, Candles, Ballast, Boots etc, for the Salter etc.			85–10–0
			£343–10–
To the Vessel ⅛ which will barely pay for the Wear and Tear, as they expend double the Quantity of Cables, Anchors, Rigging and Sails, that Vessels in any other Employ do . . .		£85–17–6	
To the Shoreman's one Eighth for making, on which the Support of his Family depends, as the Vessel don't clear anything		42–18–9	
To the Crew for the other five Eighths		214–13–9	£343–10–

From the Crew's ⅝ amounting to £214–13–9 is to be deducted the small General so called,[1] being for Wood and Provisions of all Sorts, paid for by the Crew amounting to £44–10–0, likewise their Crafts as

[1] "U. S. *Great, small generals*: The general charges furnished respectively (*a*) by the owner of a fishing vessel, *e. g.* wood, water, knives, lights, salt, bait, etc.; (*b*) by the crew, *e. g.* provisions, lines, hooks, etc." (Oxford English Dictionary.)

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Boots, Barvils,[1] Hooks, Lines, and small Stores amounting to £5–15–0 a man for 7 men is £40–5–0; this leaves £129–18–4 to be divided among the Crew, and amounts to £18–11–3 Sterling a man; which is but a bare Subsistence, as most of the Fishermen have Families, and are at double the Expence for Cloathing, that other Seamen are; the Supply of which as well as the Rigging and Sails for the Vessels are from Great-Britain; should they be deprived of the Trade to the foreign Islands in the West Indies, by which two Thirds of the West-India Fish will be lost; this will reduce the Vessels Share to £51–17–6; which is not sufficient to pay the necessary Wear and Tear; the Fishermens Shares will likewise be reduced to £6–5–6½, a Sum by no Means sufficient for their Support. The Merchants who ship the Fish to Europe, and remit the Nett Proceeds to England, allow their Vessels from 2/6 to 3/ Sterling per Quintal Freight; if they go to Bilboa or the Streights, where they can't procure Salt the Freight is 3/; if to Lisbon or Cadiz, it is only 2/6; at this low Freight the Fish seldom or never yeilds any Profit; If upon the whole the Merchants can make their Remittances at Par, they think themselves well off, and would always compound at this Rate for the Season: This evidently proves that the Fishery will not bear the least additional Incumbrance, and that a very small Discouragement will totally destroy it.

THIRDLY, A Prohibition on the Trade to the foreign Islands will greatly promote the French Fishery: If the French Islands can be supplied with Fish for Molasses, it will be cheaper for them to purchase it of us than to catch it themselves; Should they be obliged to pay us Money, (as some have supposed they will be,) they must give a much greater Price for it than they do now, as our Vessels must come back empty, and consequently can't afford it so low, as when they make a Freight Home; this will have a Tendency to promote and enlarge their Fishery; which the Planters in their Islands will not apply for, while they can be supplied with Fish for their Molasses and their establishing such a Fishery will be very prejudicial to Great-Britain; as great Numbers of our Fishermen having no Employ at home, will be induced to enter into the French Service, where they will have all possible Encouragement given them.

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[1] Barvels are fishermen's large leather aprons. The use of the word here is interesting. The earliest extract in the Oxford English Dictionary is of the year 1878, but the term must have been in common use among fishermen in England early in the seventeenth century, since it is there found in 1629 (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 404) and was employed along the Maine coast in 1639 (Documentary History of the State of Maine, 1884, iii. 171, 192, 297).

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FOURTHLY, The Fishery being a great Nursery of Seamen for his Majesty's Navy, the Destruction thereof must very much weaken the Naval Power of Great-Britain. The Fishery in this Province alone employs near three Thousand Seamen, allowing only seven Men to a Vessel; the Vessels employed in carrying the merchantable Fish to Europe, are about fifty Sail, at eight Men to a Vessel is 400; the Vessels employed in the West-India Trade are about 300 Sail; by the Custom House Books it appears, that there was cleared out for the West-India Islands at the Ports of Boston and Salem, from January 1762, to January 1763, 266 Sail of Vessels; suppose only one half of these went to the foreign Islands, that is, 133 from these two Ports, and only 27 from Newbury and Casco Bay, which will make 160 at 8 Men to a Vessel is 1280; so that in the whole there will be near 5000 Seamen immediately turned out of Employ: From this Nursery of Seamen his Majesty's Ships on this Station, and in the West-Indies, have often been supplied with Men in a Time of War; by which our Trade and Fishery have sometimes been greatly distressed; particularly the Squadron employed in the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec, upon application from Admiral Saunders were supplied with upwards of 500 Seamen, who were inlisted at Boston, to serve in that Expedition, and sent on board the Fleet then lying at Halifax; besides which two armed Vessels were fitted out at the Expence of this Government, for the Protection of our Coast, and manned out of the Fishermen; notwithstanding all which a Number were impressed out of the Vessels on the Banks, which obliged many to return without their Fairs, and by this means our Fishery was reduced one Third during the late War.

FIFTHLY, The Destruction of the Fishery will be very prejudicial to the Trade of Great-Britain, by lessening the Demand for her Manufactures; (of which that Branch of Business occasions a very large Consumption). The Imports into Great-Britain from the Sugar Islands may appear more considerable than the Imports from the Northern Colonies; but the Exports of the Manufactures of Great-Britain to the Northern Colonies (on which the Wealth of the Nation so much depends) exceed those to the Sugar Islands vastly more than their Imports exceed ours; the Planters in the West-Indies soon get estates, leave their Plantations and retire; the Inhabitants of the Northern Colonies are not able by their Trade and Industry to procure Estates sufficient to retire; therefore are obliged to remain in this cold Climate, where they consume more of the Manufactures of Great-Britain, than the Sugar Planters have Occasion for, and their consuming these Manufactures in the Colonies is more beneficial to Great-Britain

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than their going Home would be in Order to consume the same Quantity there.

The whole Produce of our Fishery, tho' not immediately sent to Great-Britain, finally centers there, by means of our other Trade, which in a great Measure depends on this; so that the Importation of Goods from England into this Province, will thereby be lessened very near, if not the whole amount of our Fishery, being £164,466 Sterling per annum, as appears by the following Estimate of the Fish caught, and exported from hence, vizt. 300 Vessels in the Cod-Fishery, which caught last Year by the Accounts taken from the Fishing Towns 240,059 Quintals, Vizt.

102,265 Quintals fit for the European Markets	at 12/	£61,359
137,794 Quintals for the West-India Market	9/	62007-6-0
90 Mackrell Vessels at 200 Barrels each is 18000 Barrels	18/	16200
Shad, Alewives and other pickled Fish 1000 Barrels . . .	10/	5000
West-India Cod-Fish from Nova-Scotia & Newfoundland in Return for Provisions, Rum, Sugar & Molasses .		10000
12 Barrels of Oyl to each Banker is 3600 Barrels	30/	5400
15000 Hogsheads for Packing the West-India Fish . . .	6/	4500
		£164,466-6-0

The Exports of Fish to the West-Indies may be proved by the Custom House Books, where it will appear that from January 1762, to January 1763, there was entered for Exportation at the two Ports of Boston and Salem 14891 Hogsheads, and 2614 Quintals, equal to 330 Hogsheads, and make in all 15231 Hogsheads of Fish of about eight Quintals each.

SIXTHLY, The Destruction of the Fishery will not only lessen the Importation of Goods from Great-Britain, but must greatly prejudice the whole Trade of the Province. The Trade to the foreign Islands is become very considerable: Surinam, and the other Dutch Settlements, are wholly supplied with Provisions, Fish, Lumber, Horses, Onions and other articles exported from the Northern Colonies; for which we receive Molasses in Return; this is distilled into Rum for the Fishery, and to export to the Southern Colonies for Naval Stores, which we send to Great-Britain, and for Grain; and to Africa to purchase Slaves for our own Islands in the West-Indies: If this Trade is destroyed, the Distillery on the Continent must be broke up, as all our own Islands do not export Molosses sufficient to supply the Northern Colonies with Beer. The annual Supply of Rum and Molasses for this Province alone including the Whale, Cod, and Mackrel Fishery amounts to near 9000; besides which we export to the Southern Colonies upwards of 3000 Hogsheads to Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland about 1300 Hogsheads, and to Africa about 1700 Hogsheads, which amounts to upwards of 6000

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Hogsheads exported; so that the whole Demand for this Province amounts to about 15000 Hogsheads per Annum of 100 Gallons each. It is said by the Planters in the West-Indies that they can supply us with Rum and Molasses for the Fishery, and our own Consumption, and that there is no occasion for any Distillers in the Northern Colonies; To which it may be answered; First, That they are not capable of supplying us with all the Rum and Molasses we want; It appears by the Entries at the Custom House, that from January 1762, to January 1763, there was entered at Boston and Salem, from the Conquered Islands upwards of 7000 Hogsheads of Molosses; whereas from our own Islands were entered only 406 Hogsheads of Rum, and 424 Hogsheads of Molosses, 412 of which were from Jamaica, and only 12 from all the other Islands. Secondly, That the Price of Rum at our own Islands for many Years past, has been and now is so high, that the Fishermen can't afford to purchase it, nor do they make Use of any but what is distilled here; should we be obliged to take all our Supply from them, the Price would immediately advance more than double. Thirdly, The demand of the Northern Colonies for Molosses is at present so great, that the Price of it in our Islands would soon be equal to the Price of Rum; and from the natural increase of Inhabitants on the Continent, our Demands would soon render that Article too dear for the poorer Sort to purchase only as a medicine. Fourthly, Molosses is distilled here into Rum 50 per Cent cheaper than in the West Indies, which is a very great Advantage to the Fishery, and we are hereby enabled to supply the Southern Colonies, and save our Money to send to Great-Britain, which otherwise must go to those Colonies for Grain. We are able also to export large Quantities to Africa, in Return for which we receive Slaves and Gold Dust, and likewise to supply the Fishery at Newfoundland, so that the Distillery here is become very necessary, not only for our Fishery but for our other Trade too, and has been a very considerable Branch of Business, which we cannot do without; Rum, Sugar and Molasses are become so necessary by being universally used among the Lumbermen, Tradesmen, and all Sorts of Labourers, that advancing the Price of those Articles, must greatly inhaunce the Price of Lumber, and Ship-Building, by which large Remittances are made to Great-Britain; and this will be a further Discouragement to the English Trade. In short, as Necessity is the Mother of Invention, the People will be driven into Manufactures for their Support, which they will never think of while they can maintain themselves by Trade.

SEVENTHLY, The Destruction of the Fishery will be the Ruin of those concerned in that Business, and that are dependent on it. The

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Fishing Vessels which cost upwards of £100,000 Sterling; more than one half of which was supplied from Great-Britain, will thereby be rendered useless, and of little or no Value; consequently a Loss to near that Amount must ensue to the Owners. The Merchants concern'd in shipping the Fish to Europe, and the West-Indies will be great Sufferers by their Vessels being reduced in their Value for want of Employ. The Tradesmen of all Sorts in the Fishing Towns will be reduced to Beggary, as their whole Support depends on the Fishery; nor will the Distress end here; the Tradesmen in the Country Towns will be greatly affected, particularly the Coopers who will lose

The making of 5000 Barrels for Oyl, Blubber, and Fishermens Water Cask	at	3/6	£875
18,000 Barrels used for Mackrel and other pickled Fish		3/	2700
10,000 Hogsheads and Barrels used for Rum, as the Distillery will be broke up with the Fishery		10/	5000
10,000 Shook Hogsheads sent to the foreign Islands for Molasses		4/	2000
200,000 Hoops to make up the Molasses Hogsheads		70/	700
The Tanner and Shoemaker will lose the Sale of 2000 Pair of Boots and Barvils			2000
The Farmer will likewise be affected, as each Banker carries 6 Barrels of Pork, each Mackrel Vessel 4, which makes 2160 Barrels of Pork at 80/ besides what the Vessels use that are employed in carrying off the Fish, which is at least 500 Barrels of Pork at 80/ and 500 Barrels of Beef at 40/			11640
5000 Quintals of Bread for the Fishermen, besides what is used in their Families		20/	5000
1000 Bushels of Beans and Pease, besides Butter, Cheese, Roots, etc.		8/	400
			£30315

The whole amounting to £30,315 Lawfull Money of this Province per Annum, besides the Lumber, Horses, Provisions and other Commodities sent to the foreign Islands as Cargoes.

EIGHTHLY, The Sugar Act, if put in Execution, will greatly affect the King's Revenue, by lessening the Importation of Rum and Sugar into Great-Britain. The Duties paid upon Rum, it is said, amount to upwards of £50,000 Sterling per Annum; this will be wholly lost to the Crown, as the Northern Colonies will take all the Rum our Islands can make; consequently none can be shipped to Great-Britain; they will likewise want a great Proportion of their Sugars; and in a few years, should our numbers increase in Proportion to what they have done for a century past, the whole Produce of the Islands we at present possess, will not exceed the Demand for this Continent; the Consumption at

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present is computed to be about 15,000 Hogsheads of One Thousand Pounds each; the Duties on which, if imported into Great-Britain, would amount to upwards of £30,000 Sterling per annum.

NINTHLY, This Act was procured by the Interest of the West-India Planters, with no other View than to enrich themselves by obliging the Northern Colonies to take their whole Supply from them; and they still endeavour the Continuance of it under a Pretence, that they can supply Great-Britain and all her Colonies with West-India Goods, which is perfectly chimerical: Take their own Accounts of the Exportation of their Produce from their several Islands, (which, by the way, from some would be one half more than is really their own Produce, it being foreign Produce run among them, and then cleared out as English,) then take the natural Demand of Great-Britain, for their Sugars, and the Demand of the Colonies for Rum, Sugar and Molosses; and it will appear that their Produce is by no means sufficient, to supply even the bare Necessities of the English. If the Demand for Rum and Molosses in the Southern Colonies, is in any Proportion to that of this Province, it will still further surmount the Exportation of Molosses from our Islands; & such a large Proportion of their Sugars might be brought this way for our Supply, as would raise the Price so much in Great-Britain, that they would soon feel the unhappy Effects of it. The Planters in our Islands have no reason to complain of our Trade to the foreign Islands, as it can be made to appear by examining of Original Accounts of Sales of our Goods, and Invoices, shipped from their Islands for twenty years before the French War in 1744, that our Goods sold from 20 to 30 per Cent higher, and their Goods were sold us from 30 to 50 per Cent cheaper than since the Peace in 1748. The Increase of our Lumber Business and Fishery has been such, that by exporting to them such large Quantities of these Commodities, they do not sell for more than their Prime Cost; and so many of our Vessels going to their Islands, has occasioned the Rise of their Goods near double.

The general Course of our Trade to the West-Indies having been this, our Vessels (except those bound to Surinam, and some that go directly to Jamaica) call at Barbadoes to try their Markets, from thence they proceed to Antigua, Nevis and St. Kitts, and in case they meet with a tolerable Market at either of those Islands, they always embrace it, if not they then proceed, some to Jamaica, others to St. Eustatius, and the other foreign Islands, where they dispose of the Cargoes which our own Islands do not want, being already overstock'd with those Commodities. But a further Proof that the Trade is in their Favour is this; formerly when our Goods fetch'd a Price with them, and their Produce

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did not vend quick; they owned and sent Vessels with their Produce to sell among us, and took our Produce in Pay; but this is not the Case now; for where one Vessel owned in the West-Indies comes to us, we send an hundred Sail to them, which plainly shows, that they do not want our Goods, so much as we do to sell them, nor to vend their own so much as we do to buy; their Navigation is otherwise employed; they take our Fish and other Commodities; dispose of them among the French, and pay us in the Return of those Goods only, shifted into English Cask at 100 per Cent Advance.

Upon the whole, It is plain that our Islands are able neither to supply us with what we want from them, nor to take from us what Lumber and Fish we are obliged to export: and they will be still less able to do either; for our Demands will be growing faster than their Produce, and our Fishery which has been increasing, will continue still to increase, if not obstructed, while their Demands have not increased in any Proportion, and never can.

BOSTON December 1763[1]

The Advocates for our Sugar Islands alledge that the Supplys the foreign Islands receive from us by our Trade with them are of great Advantage to them in carrying on their Works and supporting their Slaves, and that they are hereby enabled more easily to send their Sugars to Market, and to become our Rivals in that Trade. If this was really the Case, the French Government would certainly permitt and even encourage our Trade with their Islands. But they are so far from doing this, that they have laid a Prohibition on it & thrown so many Discouragements in the Way, that it is with Difficulty and oftentimes with considerable Hazard, that it is carry'd on at all.[2]

Mr. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP communicated a Memoir of FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, which Mr. Winship had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions of the Society.

[1] The "State" ends at this point. The paragraph that follows has been added as a kind of postscript in another hand.

[2] Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, vol. i, no. 2. These documents will appear in the Governor Thomas Fitch Papers, now in press, in Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society.

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After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers, the Rev. Dr. Kirsopp Lake, Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, and Messrs. George Russell Agassiz, Robert Pierce Casey, Charles Cestre, Charles Robert Cross, Otis Grant Hammond, Richard Cockburn Maclaurin, Joseph Grafton Minot, Grenville Howland Norcross, James Parker Parmenter, Henry Goddard Pickering, Arthur Gordon Webster, and Samuel Bayard Woodward. The PRESIDENT presided.

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MEMOIR

OF

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, A.B.

BY

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY was born in Boston on October 28, 1856. He graduated from the Boston Latin School in June, 1874, spent the next four years as a member of the class of 1878 at Harvard College, and the four succeeding years in attendance at the Harvard Medical School. He went to Chicago in 1887 and became cashier in the offices of the Santa Fé system. On June 5, 1889, he married Josephine Spencer of Dorchester. Mr. and Mrs. Gay soon returned to Boston, residing at No. 84 Beacon Street, and a year later settled on Fisher Avenue in Brookline, where they afterward built the house in which he died on March 3, 1916.

The rest of the story of Mr. Gay's life outside of his home is the record of a few intimate, warmly cherished friendships and a single dominating interest. A mind of unusual power had refused to concentrate on the routine of academic studies, medical schooling, or business prospects, but when it found itself freed from the pressure of neighborhood and family expectations, it developed rapidly and productively. It made him the recognized master of a much frequented field.

While he was a college undergraduate, on September 6, 1877, Gay became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. In the issue of its Register for the following January he contributed a note calling attention to the omission in the "Saltonstall Pedigree," of the name of the sister of Sir Richard Saltonstall, from whom he was descended. A year later he printed in the Register "William Clark's Genealogical Statement," dated at Boston in

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October, 1731; and in the same issue appeared his account, filling fifteen pages, of "John Gay of Boston and Some of his Descendants."

He was the eighth in descent from John Gay, who had lived at Watertown and helped to settle Dedham. Both his father and mother came of stocks that had taken a due share in the activities of the several communities with which they had been connected. On one side or the other and frequently on both sides, he traced to many of the influential names in the early annals of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Elder Brewster and Edward Winslow, Anne Hutchinson, Dr. John Clark, Rev. Ebenezer Gay, Sir Charles Hobby, Thomas Lake, and many of the families of Allin, Coit, Cookson, Ellis, Fisher, Gardner, Gooch, Hubbart or Hobart, Kilcup, Lovering, Maverick, Phillips, and Thacher, were his forebears or their next of kin. It was his especial fortune to learn from his mother's father, Dr. Winslow Lewis, and his aunt Anne Gay, much about all of these people, so that he came to think of them less as ancestors than as acquaintances and friends, whose daily habits and personal idiosyncracies should be kept in mind whenever they are being talked or written about.

This intimate familiarity with a large number of colonial individuals, the knowledge of their peculiarities and the inheritances which explain much of what they are reported to have said and done, was the foundation upon which Mr. Gay built. He was a conscientious delver after genealogical data, sparing neither time, strength nor money in the search for a name or a date to hang on an empty twig of a family tree. He searched, not by looking through old record books, but by reading each of them and all the other available papers. He preferred to do the work in this way because he enjoyed it, and the enjoyment came because he knew a great deal about most of the persons whose names appeared in any New England document. When he wrote, as he occasionally did to the Boston Transcript's genealogical column, his communication nearly always had an especial value on account of the setting which he was able to give to the isolated fact that he felt called upon to correct or to put on record.

The publication of an unusual bit of evidence, with a shrewd, intuitive suggestion of its obvious meaning, had been his first essay in print, and the second was a document written a century and a half

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before. He made it his business to illuminate the local history of this community by these two means. In April, 1894, he corrected the date of La Tour's appointment as Lieutenant-General of Acadia, which had appeared erroneously in print several times, by producing the original text of the appointment and offering it for publication in the first volume of this Society's Publications. Each succeeding volume contains some message from the study on Fisher Hill, which came to be the place where the history of New England was investigated more thoroughly and thought about more seriously than it had been anywhere since the death of Charles Deane.

His method is nowhere better illustrated than in the modest statement — the modesty being a part of the plan to ensure acceptance as well as a temperamental characteristic of the man — in the Transactions for April, 1895, which set forth the reasons why he was certain that all the previous writers had been ignorant of the actual location of the house in which Governor John Winthrop lived in Boston prior to his financial troubles in 1639. The site does not seem important, unless one wishes to know exactly how the lines of social and commercial cleavage in New England first began to be laid down. It was a point which interested Mr. Gay because of his vivid realization of the extent to which the natural course of each individual's daily routine influenced the trend of affairs in a small community. To him the inferences that followed inevitably from one location or another much more than justified the spending of all the time which it took to find and to read carefully the seven Suffolk deeds which settled this matter, and change the natural but inaccurate presumptions of preceding writers into a demonstrable certainty. Mr. Gay had the good fortune to acquire, among the latest additions to his collection, the original of one of these deeds, on which was the autograph endorsement of its acknowledgment before Governor Bellingham. This document was exhibited by him in March, 1915, at the last meeting of this Society which he attended.

An unforeseen result of the paper on the site of Governor Winthrop's house came to light at the December meeting in 1900, at which Mr. Gay communicated, on behalf of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., a group of hitherto unpublished letters written by Governor Win-

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throp. These letters had been found among the Harleian manuscripts at the British Museum, and Mr. Winthrop, to whom the news of the discovery had been sent, secured copies of them. He sent these at once to Mr. Gay, placing them at the disposal of this Society. Mr. Winthrop also wrote the explanatory note which accompanies the printed letters. His sympathetic appreciation of the way in which the Society was carrying on the work of elucidating the annals of colonial Massachusetts bore further fruit in his testamentary gift of $3000 to the Society's funds.

The location of the Governor's Boston mansion on the site where the Exchange Building stands, made it necessary, to Mr. Gay's mind, for him to settle the original householders on the remainder of what is now State Street. In the same way he followed Winthrop across the Charles and up the Mystic rivers to his Ten Hills farm and the neighboring Royal House. Concerning the latter he gradually accumulated a note-book full of odd information that satisfied him that this was in earlier days either an Usher or a Lidgett house. Likewise, realizing from his reading that Governor Bellingham's city mansion had similarly been wrongly located, he searched the archives until this was placed definitely on the right spot. A less pretentious edifice in which he took much deeper interest, and which he looked for persistently until he found the lot on which it stood in 1639, was that which housed the first printing press set up in English America. The Cambridge antiquaries had placed this elsewhere, as a bronze tablet testifies, but he showed conclusively that it actually faced on what is now Holyoke Street.

Mr. Gay's interest in anything that had to do with Harvard and his desire to serve the University were shown in many quiet ways, and brought him a deeply appreciated recognition when the Corporation gave him his degree as of his own class at Commencement in 1903. On March 6, 1902, he wrote to the Council of this Society that he would pay the cost of transcribing the contents of three volumes in which the early manuscript records of the college are preserved, as well as $2000 towards the cost of issuing these in print. The seemingly slow progress on this work was due in no small part to his insistence that nothing should be overlooked or slighted, and that when issued it should be definitive. His satisfaction with the work as it went along was great, and although he did not live to see

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the volumes published,[1] he had personally examined and approved all the printed sheets containing the text of the records.

Three lines and three photo-engraved plates, in the Transactions for April, 1911, are all there is in print as a result of a trip made by Mr. Gay, who never went far from his own reading chair for any trivial reason, to Philadelphia to examine with his own eyes Du Simitière's drawings of the Harvard buildings. During the same journey he went deep into the New Jersey archives in a fruitless search for two record books of the seventeenth century New England Company, one of which was discovered in a Boston library five years later through his efforts. At the following February meeting he read a letter from the second Rev. Thomas Shepard "to his son at his admission into the college" which had been often printed, but never before in its entirety. In April, 1913, he set forth who Hugh Peter was, and forcefully pointed out the fact that the University in its official Quinquennial Catalogue ignored him, as well as the other members of Harvard's first Board of Overseers. Among the books which he exhibited on this occasion, all from his own collection, was the first edition of the Milk for Babes, printed at Rotterdam probably, in 1630. No other copy of this has been located, possibly because he was the first to recognize that this was one of the publications of the militant Puritan parson. To the next March meeting he brought a little volume written by a German divine and printed at Riga in 1691, in which he had found, inserted by the author as a chance "Gleaning to fill out a blank page" at the end of the book, a "Relation of the Academy at Cambridge," in which he recognized convincing evidence that the college had printed an otherwise unknown triennial catalogue in 1685.

At this Society's March meeting in 1899 Mr. Gay showed, with an explanatory statement brief and pertinent as always, a manuscript petition that had come into his possession, embodying the complaints of the troops who were investing the town of Boston in May, 1775, about the insufficient and bad food with which they were supplied. A letter from the Rev. Thomas Welde "to his people at Tarling in Essex" was offered for publication in March, 1910. Three years later he provided a photographic facsimile of the broadside making

[1] They will appear as vols. xv and xvi of our Publications.

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public "The Capital Laws of New England." This was taken from the only copy he could find, in the Thomason Collection at the British Museum, of a London reprint of the original edition printed at Cambridge in 1643, which has apparently disappeared. In April, 1905, he communicated a number of documents which illustrated the activities of Major Robert Sedgwick of Charlestown as a trusted agent of Cromwell.

The Massachusetts Historical Society printed in its Proceedings for April, 1910, a letter which he had written to its editor, calling attention to the fact that a Boston shopkeeper in 1741 had owned, and lost, copies of Milton's Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, and also stating his reasons for speaking of John Humphrey as the "press agent" of the Great Emigration of 1630. A number of documents relating to Edward Ashley, a trader at Penobscot accused of selling guns to the Indians in 1631, were contributed to its Proceedings for February, 1912. For Professor Kittredge's paper in the same issue he supplied the dates when Dr. Douglass paid his dues to the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston, as well as much more significant material taken from his transcripts made from the letter-books of the Royal Society in London. In February, 1915, he presented to that Society for publication the documents which he had gathered in regard to the Rev. Francis Marbury, and the evidence which established the date and place of the marriage of Marbury's famous daughter Anne to William Hutchinson.

Only twice did he appeal to the wider general public, when he thought that he had something to say which would or ought to interest it. The omission of any mention of Nathaniel Eaton, the first active head of the unnamed infant Harvard, from the Quinquennial Catalogue, seemed to him sufficiently curious to justify a repetition of what others had urged, and so he brought it again to the attention of the graduates, in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin for May 26, 1915. This was the particular sort of thing which he considered that it was his business in life to put right once for all, and he set about doing it in the most effective way he knew.

With a similar end in view he sent to the New York Nation, for publication in its issue for February 11, 1909, his account of "The First American Play," performed by the Sieur De Monts and his fellow French colonists at Port Royal, Acadia, in 1606. Inasmuch

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as he had found the entire text of the production in one of the books with which students of the history of Canada are most familiar, Marc Lescarbot's Les Muses de la Nouvelle France, published at Paris in 1609, Mr. Gay endeavored to put the facts on record where writers on American literature, as well as those who study its history, could not longer be ignorant of it.

A contribution prepared for the meeting of this Society in April, 1915, begins, "I have brought for examination the muster roll of Captain Thomas Larimore's Company, which was mustered for her Majesty's service December 1, 1702, and embarked at Boston for Jamaica. . . . The particular significance attaching to this is that it is the first company ever sent outside the limits of the Province in obedience to instructions from the Crown." An indisposition that did not seem unusually serious prevented Mr. Gay's attending that meeting, and he kept actively at his books through the summer and autumn, but at the meeting in the following March his death was announced.

The preceding summary of what, for one reason or another, happened to get into print, serves admirably as a suggestion, but it is little more than that, of what Mr. Gay was doing in his study during the years from 1890 to 1916. There he read the three thousand odd volumes written by his colonial ancestors and their contemporaries, which had come into his possession in 1875 by the bequest of Dr. Lewis. As he read, he noted the titles of other books which would help him to understand these. Whenever opportunity offered he bought these other books that he wanted. Never a collector in the usual sense, he gathered steadily everything that would help him to comprehend the people in whom he was interested. The library that he brought together ranked high among those devoted to the early New Englanders. Choice copies of many costly books, and many more of greater rarity than the ones that are familiar to the bibliographers, found their way to his shelves. He was particularly fond of hunting down a suspected volume within whose covers lurked some passage full of meaning to whoever could supply the explanation of its significance. Moreover, he read each of these volumes as it came to him.

Puritan theology was to Mr. Gay a thoroughly entertaining subject with which to while away a quiet evening. He began by un-

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derstanding who the men were for whom the theologians wrote their books, and why these books were printed and read in the seventeenth century. He came to be equally familiar with the personal relationships existing among the different groups of controversialists. He comprehended the human reasons which led them to take one side or the other, to shift at times from one to the other, and to hold opinions and to use language with a vigor and pertinency that is a truly God-given endowment. The ideas about life in this world as well as in the next, upon which these opinions were based, were a part of his own inheritance, which his early training enabled him to interpret. Like a good many of his ancestors, he could understand and sympathize with both sides of most of these controversies.

The dogmatical treatises and non-polemical sermons interested him almost as much as those in which the human factors lay nearer the surface. In these also he could perceive the reasons which led to the covering of reams of paper with carefully thought-out sentences, and to the paying the cost of printing heavy tomes spotted with references to Biblical commentaries and the Church Fathers. He watched the working of the minds of the men whose daily habits he knew, and while watching this with thorough enjoyment, he picked up many stray bits of New England news.

The transition of interest from Puritan theology to manuscript documents came as naturally as had the earlier shifting from genealogy to sermons. Mr. Gay never lost his instinct for or his delight in the solving of genealogical problems, nor did he ever lose track of the remote ramifications of his family lines. He also continued to read theological disquisitions whenever the booksellers could supply one in his line with which he was not familiar. He perused Thomas Edwards's Gangræna, as well as the Lives of the Irish Saints in the Latin text, during one of his last summers at Marblehead.

The verifying of references in footnotes led him to the Calendars of British State Papers and to the Reports of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission, and therein a fresh realm of delight opened to him. Through these substantial volumes, wherein many others had browsed, he read systematically, noting in his memorandum books every document that aroused a suspicion that it might refer to any on the constantly increasing list of subjects about which he was collecting data. The Calendars gave only abstracts,

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and so he sent to his London agent for transcripts of the whole of each one that held the slightest promise of additional information. The omitted portions of abstracted documents rarely justify the hopes of investigators, unless the reader is prepared to interpret the significance hidden behind polite phrases and messages to relatives. To Mr. Gay, examining these papers with somewhat of the appreciation of the original recipient, the transcripts proved to be stored with a wealth of untouched material.

The transcripts from the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and private collections in England, accumulated steadily, until they made an imposing array of fifty-six bound volumes. Never churlish, although always particular about the way in which the information that he controlled was used, Mr. Gay made the contents of these volumes known to those whom he thought that he could trust to use them to advantage. Seventy-five copies of A Rough List of a Collection of Transcripts relating to the History of New England, 1630–1776, were printed in 1913, making a volume of 273 pages. These were distributed after careful consideration to students in whose personal judgment and historical competence he had entire confidence, for in the introductory note was the statement, deliberately made, that the transcripts were "at the service of those who receive this book from me." The series of volumes containing these papers, with others supplementing them, has been given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by his heirs, with a provision that "the freest possible use of it, consistent with its safety, be given to all historical students of serious intent."

The number of persons who were invited to his study was never large, for he did not care to share his ideas or information with those who he thought were likely to make unintelligent or injudicious use of either. Least of all would he pass the time with acquaintances who had been misled into regarding him as one who was buying old books in lieu of other occupation. To those whom he admitted to his workroom, there were no secrets or prohibitions, although there was apt to be much talk of century-old gossip that has not gone out in modern print.

Mr. Gay was always most generous to anyone who secured his confidence. He shared freely his antiquarian lore and his most precious trove from ancient manuscripts. The mention of his name

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in a preface or a footnote often covers the use of data which he had accumulated during years of reading, or of suggestions which he had long before elaborated into plans for some independent publication, all of which had been turned over to another. He was equally generous with his original material. He presented to this Society at its meeting in April, 1894, the original manuscript commission on parchment, signed by Louis XIII of France, and dated February 8, 1631, appointing Charles de la Tour Lieutenant-General of Acadia. To the American Antiquarian Society on its one hundredth anniversary meeting, October 12, 1912, he gave the contemporary manuscript Records of the Council for New England, covering the meetings in the two important years 1622 and 1623. Money he gave liberally, but always as quietly as might be. The treasurer's books of this, as of the other societies in which he was interested, preserve his name, for a generous amount whenever help was needed to carry out a well-considered plan to serve any historical or antiquarian object.

The "Rough List" of the transcripts was made by Mr. Gay with his own hand, except for one series of documents, and he wrote out an annotated shelf list of what was to him the more valuable portion of his library. He filled a long series of note-books with memoranda and suggestions. A reliable memory enabled him to find almost anything that he wanted to refer to, in his books or among his papers. He realized that it was by doing these things himself that he secured his intimate, accurate acquaintance with them, but he also appreciated the fact that his interests had come to be so varied and his material so bulky that assistance was imperative if the things that he had undertaken were to be accomplished. He had the good fortune to find a collaborator who was able to hold his own as a persistent investigator and a retentive accumulator of facts, Mr. John H. Edmonds. Mr. Edmonds had succeeded, while compiling a list of maps of Boston for the city's Engineering Department, in finding out what he wanted to know about the many rare ones belonging to Mr. Gay. At the same time Mr. Gay found that this was the man for whom he had been looking. The result was that the two worked together during the ensuing nine years, and that a very considerable amount of the stored-up knowledge which would otherwise have gone when the older man died, became a matter of record.

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During these years Mr. Gay took up the systematic investigation of a number of subjects about which he had been gathering data and ideas during the previous decades. One of these that had been in his mind much of the time for thirty years and that was all but completed for publication, dealt with the career of Cyprian Southack, privateer, pioneer New England cartographer, and for nineteen years Captain of the Massachusetts Province Galley. Southack was in all probability the earliest inhabitant of this part of the world to practise map making extensively, preparing charts of the New England and Canada coasts, with detailed surveys of nearly all the important harbors. A character even more picturesque was Sir William Phips, whose search for buried treasure in the Bahamas was recorded in a group of papers which were put in order for publication by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Other students, rather than look the matter up, had found it easier to suggest that Cotton Mather must have drawn his long bow when he stated that Phips was one of a family of twenty-one children. Mr. Gay sought to find out about these brothers and sisters, and succeeded in locating definitely at least three fourths of them, turning up a considerable amount of fresh material concerning the more distinguished member of the family as a by-product of the search.

For six months most of his attention was given to coördinating and supplementing the notes about the most famous of American pirates. The publication of Sir Cornelius Neal Dalton's The True Captain Kidd stopped further work on this subject, although it was evident that there was still much to be told about the treasure that Kidd acquired and what became of it. As a part of the effort to place Kidd in his proper historical setting, other pirates were followed on their voyages; Captain Low of Boston, who took 140 vessels in twenty months, Captain Bartholomew Roberts, who took 400 vessels in three years, many of them off the New England coast, Captain Avery, who starved in New England with his pockets full of gems, and Captain Bellamy who was lost on the back of Cape Cod with 127 of his crew. Captains Pound, Bradish, Phillips, and Fly were others who had a place in this noteworthy assemblage.

Another sort of Captain, Jonathan Carver, author of the Travels, being a Massachusetts man, came in for a share of note taking, as well as of book buying, as soon as Mr. Gay read that his good name

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had been assailed. What is perhaps the finest collection of the numerous editions of his writings in any library east of Cleveland was soon matched by the carefully analyzed records of the three Jonathan Carvers, whose divergent careers had given the traveller the unmerited reputation of never having been or done what he claimed in his narratives. Mr. Gay bought Carver's Travels in order to find out about the author; he started to look up Thomas Maule because he had the good fortune to secure copies of three of the exceedingly rare works which bear that author's name. The reading of these books convinced him that they were not by the same writer. The consequent investigation, which led to a perusal of the writings of Robert Calef and the contemporary Quakers, was one of the later subjects taken in hand.

There were many of these subjects about which investigations had been carried far enough to show that the results would justify whatever trouble and time might be necessary to complete them. One of these was the Hollis Street Church in Boston and its stubborn pastor, the Reverend Mather Byles of more reverend ancestry and picturesque local reputation. The Rev. Mr. Byles's private records of the church's affairs, which had come into Mr. Gay's possession, have been presented by Mrs. Gay in his name to this Society. Boston riots was another, especially those outbreaks in which Daniel Malcolm had a hand. Taverns likewise, but more particularly the Bunch of Grapes, the two Punch Bowls, and the Vernon Head which had belonged to an ancestor, together with the manifold events that emanated from these hostelries, occupied much of his attention.

The opportunity to purchase a large collection of the original papers relating to the Penobscot expedition of 1779, which have also been given to this Society by Mrs. Gay, set him to work on the details of that adventure. He knew the Kennebec and Sagadahock regions from frequent cruisings in his yacht, and quite as well from his trips in search of the early proprietors and settlers, and the location of their Church of England edifice over which the Rev. Robert Gutch of Salem presided.

The ownership of a lot near Fort Sewall at Marblehead led him to run the sequence of his own and the adjoining titles, with the result that a wholly new line of entertaining information came to light, taking him for a while into the affairs of the Conants and of

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the Westons of London, Weymouth, Salem, and Virginia. The extraordinary complications that have accumulated around many of the Marblehead land titles suggested the advisability of printing the available manuscript material relating to that locality. A special calendar was prepared of the Marblehead documents dated before 1776 in the archives of the state. Exact copies were secured of all of these down to 1760, as well as of every paper in the Court Files of Suffolk County, to 1700, that contains the name of Marblehead.

Dedham and Brookline shared with Boston and Marblehead his special interest in the communities with which he had inherited connection or personal association. His collection of Dedham books, including those by Dedham folk and those mentioning the town, as well as those printed in it, was given after his death to the Dedham Historical Society, of which he had long been a member, taking a generous and friendly interest in all of its activities.

The notes relating to these communities were numerous, but there were breaks in the several series which interrupted the work on almost every subject that was taken up. As a long step toward filling these gaps, a detailed summary was prepared from the documents in the Massachusetts archives dated between 1625 and 1776, noting every reference which seemed likely to prove useful. The localities which were watched for included Acadia and Nova Scotia, Maine and New Hampshire. Among the broader subjects were the work of engravers, leading to counterfeiters and so to whatever concerned the issue of bills of public credit; pirates and thence to malefactors of whatever description; marriages and divorces; the Canadian expeditions, and so everything on the French and Indian wars, including impressment on land or sea, and thus to almost anything that seemed to be sufficiently unusual to call for particular consideration. Finding as this work progressed that many of the statements needed further elucidation, a supplementary calendar was prepared of the Council Records from 1690 to 1760. To facilitate the use of this material, an index was compiled to both series.

Another index that proved to be of the utmost value in bringing together bits of apparently meaningless information, gave a summary of the items in the local columns and the advertisements in the Boston News Letter from 1704 to 1708, the New England Courant from

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1721 to 1726, and the New England Weekly Journal from 1727 to 1741. Besides the indexes made from these consecutive files, there were others to single years of a number of papers, compiled when the work on some special topic made it desirable to consult them. By means of these it was repeatedly found possible to settle exact dates which gave fresh meaning to otherwise insignificant facts, to determine just when a controversial pamphlet appeared and thus throw new light upon its causes or consequences, and in other ways to add definiteness and precision to statements of what and how and why.

"The Pelham Club. Boston 1901" was the name which Mr. Gay put on a series of photogravure reproductions made for him from twelve mezzotint portraits engraved by Peter Pelham in Boston between 1727 and 1751. Nearly all of these were taken from his own unsurpassed impressions of the originals. The subjects are Charles Brockwell, his Majesty's Chaplain in Boston, Mather Byles, "Ecclesiae apud Bostonum Nov-Anglorum Pastor," Henry Caner, Minister of King's Chapel, Benjamin Colman, D.D., Timothy Cutler, of Christ Church, William Hooper, Minister of Trinity Church, "Cottonus Matherus S. Theologiae Doctor Regiae Societatis Londinensis Socius," John Moorhead, "Minister of a Church of Presbyterian Strangers at Boston," Thomas Prince, "Quintus Ecclesiae Australis Bostonii Novanglorum Pastor," Sir William Pepperrell, Governor William Shirley, and Thomas Hollis, "a most generous Benefactor to Harvard College." In addition to these portraits by Pelham, he distributed in the name of the Club a portrait of John Adams, in the hope that some one might be able to confirm, or disprove, his opinion that the original was engraved as well as painted by Savage.

The early Boston artists and their work, especially their portraits, engaged much of Mr. Gay's attention. Pelham's mezzotint of Sir William Pepperrell was exhibited by him at the January meeting of this Society in 1898, when he pointed out that the inscription gave the name of the painter, Smibert. The portrait was clearly copied from an original canvas, now belonging to the Essex Institute at Salem, which had frequently been described as by an unknown artist. At the meeting in February, 1902, he called attention to the entry in the Boston Selectmen's records for August 25, 1701, men-

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tioning "Lawrence Brown, a Limner," concerning whose ability to support himself the town fathers were properly cautious. He contributed a paper on Gawen and Mather Brown, with a portrait of the latter by himself, reproduced from the original in Mr. Gay's own possession, to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1914. The shadowy Tom Child, "who often painted death," and the surgeon who married his widow and succeeded to his painting business, Greenwood, Copley, Blackburn, Emmons and Smibert were other artists whose names were in the note-books always near at hand.

A monograph was well under way on Thomas Johnston, 1708–1767, japanner, heraldic painter, organ builder and engraver. The researches into his career resulted, among other things, in attributing to Johnston twenty-three works in place of the six engravings on copper which are listed in Stauffer's Early American Engravers. It was discovered that three of Johnston's children followed their father's profession as an artist, and that one of these was probably the painter of a considerable number of the portraits which have been confidently attributed to Copley by their later owners. By locating the residences of Pelham and Copley, the Johnstons and Greenwood, it was found that they all lived near together, so that the likelihood that each influenced the others to some extent, and that the younger generation studied under and strove to emulate the work of the most successful master, was easily established.

Engravers and cartographers were both equally concerned in the production of the early maps. In furtherance of his studies in this direction, Mr. Gay distributed to those with whom he was corresponding on this subject in 1905, a few copies of a facsimile of John Seller's Map of New England published at London in 1675. In 1912 he issued a photolithographic facsimile of Captain Thomas Pound's A New Map of New England from Cape Cod to Cape Sables, exactly surveyed by the Author, the larger part of which is an inset of Boston Harbor.

A Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Engraving in America, held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston during the winter of 1904-1905, lists forty-four items selected from Mr. Gay's collection. He printed for his own use a special edition of one hundred copies, on larger and better paper, of this catalogue. In 1907

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he served on the committee which arranged the exhibition of books illustrating the pre-Revolutionary history of Massachusetts, at the Jamestown Exposition. In order that there might be a permanent record of this very comprehensive representation of the early stages of the State's intellectual evolution, he printed at his own expense, but under the seal of the commonwealth, three hundred copies of A Descriptive Catalogue of the Massachusetts Exhibit of Colonial Books at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition. The bibliographical and descriptive notes under each title were prepared by his friend and trusted agent, George Emery Littlefield. "Synopsis Medicinae or a Compendium of Galenical and Chymical Physick By Zerobabel Endecott Physician of Salem" is the title given to a manuscript in his collection which was printed in 1914 "for Frederick Lewis Gay and George Francis Dow and their Friends."

Hugh Peter, Puritan divine, Harvard Overseer, Roundhead Colonel, and English regicide, led Mr. Gay further afield than any other of the many characters whom he tried to track to their lairs. He started on this trail in 1912 because a writer in Notes and Queries drew inferences disparaging to the old Puritan. Mr. Gay's instinct made him suspect that these might not stand the test of verification. He found and bought the books from which quotations had been made, and in order that he might be certain that he understood the author, he ordered as many more of Peter's writings as he could find in the bookshops. He kept on buying until he had secured twenty-three separate publications, and in addition filled several shelves with the productions of Peter's more or less venomous opponents.

He soon found that he had launched himself on the tortuous channel that winds through the mazes of the English Civil War and Commonwealth periods. It would have given pause to most men who thought that they had their course already well laid out, but Mr. Gay sallied into the grim recesses of these tracts with all the zest of an explorer amid an uncharted archipelago. He read these pamphlets with the same keen insight into the human interests hidden behind their interminable sentences that had carried him through the dogmatical treatises of the same period. He ordered from the English booksellers' catalogues most of the titles printed during the years from 1640 to 1661. As soon as the dealers realized

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that he had a new interest, they began to offer him the first chance at whatever they acquired in this field, with the result that he secured several important collections of tracts before they were broken up for the general trade. During the four years remaining of his life, these Civil War tracts came to Fisher Avenue at the rate of nearly a thousand a year. An extraordinarily large proportion of them contain notes or memoranda showing that Mr. Gay had read them. This is true of all of those that concern Hugh Peter, Sir Harry Vane, and the unrestrainable William Prynne. His English correspondents had an open order to send anything in which these names appeared.

Soon after the collecting of the Civil War tracts became a definite pursuit, it was learned that his principal competitor was the Harvard Library. An arrangement mutually satisfactory was easily made between the rivals. Mr. Gay was appointed by the Harvard Corporation "Curator of British and American Historical Tracts." As such, he assumed the congenial task, for which no one could have been more competent, of spending the money that the college library allotted for this subject. He was assigned a room in the new Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library building. There he planned to combine his own collection of tracts with those belonging to the college, and to develop the two systematically with a view to their eventual union. This plan has been carried out through the generous coöperation of Mrs. Gay and his two brothers, both of whom died shortly after this arrangement was completed. The Gay Collection in the Harvard Library comprises all the historical tracts of the Stuart and Commonwealth periods belonging to the University. A number of important additions have already been made since it was organized as a distinct section of the library, and both its size and convenient arrangement for investigators assure it a position as one of the important features of the Harvard Library. There will be no more suitable memorial to Frederick Lewis Gay, nor could there be one which would more fully meet his wishes that the work which he was doing should go on in the college library at Cambridge.

After his return to Boston, Mr. Gay was elected to the Tavern Club, in 1889; he became a member of the Club of Odd Volumes in 1890; and two years later he rejoined the New England Historic

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Genealogical Society, from which he had withdrawn while he was living in Chicago. He became a member of this Society at its third stated meeting, in March, 1893. In April, 1906, he was elected to the American Antiquarian Society, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society on January 8, 1914.

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APPENDIX

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O Praise the Lord forever & ever. — How blessed are all they that fear the Lord & walk in his Ways, for thou shalt eat the Labor of thine Hands. — O well is thee, & happy shalt thou be.

Lo! thus shall the Man be blessed that fears the Lord. For thus saith the Lord, from henceforth, behold all Nations shall call thee blessed; for thy Rulers shall be of thine own kindred; your Nobles shall be of yourselves & thy GOVERNOR shall proceed from the midst of thee.

Awake! Awake! Put on thy Strength, O Zion, — break forth into Joy with Hallelujah! for the Lord hath redeemed his people.

Blessings, & Glory, Salvation and Wisdom, Thanksgiving and Honor and Power & Might, be unto the Lord God Almighty, who sitteth on the Throne, and unto the Lamb forever & ever. Amen.

Praise the Lord.

Address — James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.

Addresses — Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, LL.D.
Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.

Presentation by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.

Acceptance for the First Church in Boston

Elbridge Gerry Cutler, M.D.

Ode, written for the Occasion

Tune: The National Air of England and America

Turn back our History's page,
There, in a by-gone age,
Read we a name.
Good Thomas Hutchinson,
Boston's asperséd son,
Long ere his race was run
Dead to all fame.

"True to his King," you say,
"False to his country." Nay,
Call him not so!
Sure that in George's hand
Lay safety for his land,
Forced by his oath to stand,
What could he do?

His faith that Liberty
Under the King might be,
We may deplore.
But let us not forget
The noble task he set,
Redeeming Province debt,
Honour and more.

Judge, both humane and just,
Never betrayed he trust.
Thanks be to him
That the full tale is told
Of the Bay Col'ny bold,
Culled from the legends old,
And records dim.

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Fair Berkshire's "rocks and rills,
Her woods and templed hills,"
Gave he the State.
Serving on Province bound,
His view alone was sound,
No single inch of ground
Would he abate.

Exiled — he welcomed death,
Saying, with latest breath,
On his lone bier,
"Thy name, New England, see
Wrote on the heart of me!
Ever I yearn for thee."
Grant him one tear!

G. W. E.

Benediction REV. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, D.D.

Amen

After the performance of the organ voluntaries and introit, Dr. PARK read the following sentences:

Let us now praise famous men,
And our fathers that begat us.
The Lord manifested in them great glory,
Even His mighty power from the beginning.
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,
And were men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding,
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their understanding men of learning for the people;
Their bodies were buried in peace,
And their name liveth to all generations.
Peoples will declare their wisdom,
And the congregation telleth out their praise.

Dr. PARK then offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whose far-reaching service are enlisted the good and the great of all times, bless unto us the purpose of this hour. Awaken within these hearts of ours a true recognition of virtue, a sweet generosity of judgment. Enable us to discern sincerity and righteousness of heart wherever manifested; and accept our gratitude for all those who in their several capacities and degrees have acknowledged Thyself their sovereign Ruler, and have sought with all their power to serve Thy holy purposes of justice and honor and uprightness of living. Amen.

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After the singing of the anthem, Dr. PARK said:

A few years ago there appeared in the American Statesmen Series a biography of Samuel Adams, who has been called "the American Cato," and "the Father of the American Revolution." The author of this biography confesses that in the course of his researches, preliminary to writing the life of Samuel Adams, his attention was repeatedly drawn to the great opponent of Adams, Governor Thomas Hutchinson.

He found himself increasingly filled with interest in this man, an interest more than historical, as it were, almost personal. Accordingly, after the completion of the work then in hand, he indulged this new interest, and acquainted himself thoroughly with the labors and the character of the Royal Governor, Thomas Hutchinson.

It speaks well for the ameliorating influences of time and perspective, that the same man should become the cordial and sympathetic biographer of two such bitter antagonists as Samuel Adams and Thomas Hutchinson. It is our privilege to listen to-day to an address by that broad-minded author. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Dr. JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, who, as Professor Goldwin Smith has said, "of all American historians has done most to render justice to Great Britain and to remove the historic causes of ill-feeling between her and her off-spring the United States."

ADDRESS OF DR. JAMES KENDALL HOSMER

The occasion for which we are assembled is unusual, perhaps unique. Some five generations since the eminent citizen of Massachusetts, of New England, indeed perhaps of America, was Thomas Hutchinson. Born in Boston, he had an excellent heredity derived from ancestors able and high purposed, an environment of the best. As a Master of Arts, he entered as a foster-brother into the great Harvard household. Through the possession of an ample fortune, he was absolved from the necessity of providing for material wants. He gave himself in his early manhood to the public service. He filled the most conspicuous positions with success and with honor. He incurred unpopularity through causes not discreditable to him. At last he made a great mistake, for which he brought upon himself the hatred of his country. He was stripped of his property, and died

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an exile in England of a broken heart. For more than a century his name was scarcely mentioned in New England excepting with obloquy. Of late years a kinder feeling has come to prevail. To-day we are met to pay to this man, so long traduced, a tribute of respect. If a personal reference may be permitted, I am the descendant of men who fought the cause of Hutchinson in the Massachusetts Assembly, at Concord Bridge, and at Bunker Hill. I am the admiring biographer of his bitterest enemy, Samuel Adams. Like myself the majority of the audience whom I address are descended from ancestors who held Hutchinson in contempt. To-day, however, we are assembled to dedicate in this First Church in Boston, with which he and his ancestors were long connected, the Westminster Abbey of Boston,[1] which bears upon its walls tablets in honor of many ancient worthies, a memorial of our high veneration for him.

For over forty years Hutchinson was a conspicuous servant of the public.[2] Public service may be rendered in three fields, the

[1] The First Church in Boston was founded by Governor John Winthrop in 1630. The eminent men and women connected with it who have already received mural commemoration include eight governors of Massachusetts, three presidents of Harvard College, several envoys to England and other foreign courts, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, justices of the Supreme Court, cabinet officers, and a president of the United States, besides Fellows of the Royal Society, London, scientists, historians, diplomatists, philosophers, and poets. A life-size recumbent portrait statue of John Cotton by the late Bela Lyon Pratt is in a recess in the south wall of the nave, and rests upon a marble base inclosing tracery from the walls of St. Botolph's Church, of which Cotton was vicar for twenty-one years. The tablet to Sir Henry Vane in the south transept was given by his descendant the Rt. Hon. Henry de Vere Vane, Lord Barnard of Raby Castle. Near it is another tablet to Isaac Johnson (grandson of William Chadderton, Bishop of Chester and Lincoln), who married and brought hither the Lady Arbella, sister of the fourth Earl of Lincoln. Charles Francis Adams, John Quincy Adams, George Bancroft, Anne Bradstreet, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Endicott, Edward Everett, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Thomas Hutchinson, John Leverett, Robert Treat Paine, and John Winthrop are a few of the illustrious parishioners whose names and careers are recorded on the walls of the church.

[2] Thomas Hutchinson was born in Boston September 9, 1711; graduated at Harvard College in 1727; received the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law from Oxford University in 1776; and died in London June 3, 1780. He held the following offices: Selectman of Boston, 1737; Representative, 1735–1740, 1742–1748; Boundary Commissioner at various times between 1740 and 1773; Envoy to England, 1740; Speaker of the House, 1746–1748; Councillor, 1749–1766; Indian Treaty Commissioner, 1750; Judge of the Common Pleas, 1752–1758;

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legislative, the judicial, and the executive. In all of them he was active, and I purpose to touch briefly upon an incident in each one of these fields to illustrate the way in which he worked.

A democracy never appears to more ill advantage than in the management of finance, and of this no better illustration can be given than the conduct of Massachusetts in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Province was in a Slough of Despond through an irredeemable paper currency. There were wise and thrifty men who felt the evil, but the majority of the people were completely infatuated. Business was gravely embarrassed, and the moral fibre of the community underwent a sad deterioration. For a long time no chance appeared for bettering the condition, but in 1749 an opportunity presented itself which was fortunately seized. Grateful to New England for the service which she had rendered in the capture of Louisburg in 1745, the British government resolved to reimburse the Province of Massachusetts for her heavy expenditure. The indemnity was to be paid in hard cash, a million dollars, in those days a vast sum, and it was the proposition of Hutchinson, then Speaker of the Assembly, that this should be appropriated to the taking up of the irredeemable scrip, for which the indemnity nearly sufficed. He was almost alone in perceiving that the scheme was feasible. Even the wise and thrifty feared a shock from the sudden change. The suggestion at first excited only ridicule, which soon developed into angry antagonism. However, almost by a miracle, through his wisdom, eloquence, and tact, the bill was passed. A picturesque scene in 1749 presented itself in King Street in Boston. A procession of trucks carted from the ship to the Old State House two hundred and seventeen chests of Spanish milled dollars, followed by a similar train bearing casks of coined copper. The details were systematically arranged, and Massachusetts stood at once upon a hard money basis, the effects of which were salutary in the highest degree. The shock experienced was of the pleasantest. The buoyancy and energy with which Massachusetts soon after entered upon the pre-Revolutionary struggle was to a large extent due to its happy financial condition. This was the work of Hutch-

Judge of Probate, 1752–1769; Delegate to the Albany Congress, 1754; Lieutenant-Governor, 1758–1771; Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1760–1769; Governor, 1771–1774.

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inson solely, and during our whole colonial period perhaps no instance could be cited of better legislative work. Said John Adams in 1809, long after the event, If I were the Witch of Endor, I would call to life Hutchinson, and put into his hands the finances of the United States, for I have never known a man who could manage such work better.

Now, as to his work in the judicial field, Hutchinson, having been Judge of Probate and of the Court of Common Pleas, became at length Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and in the first months of his incumbency, in 1761, it came upon him to try the famous case of the Writs of Assistance. Laws imposing heavy restraints upon trade had long been in existence on the statute book, but had remained a dead letter. The British government had resolved to put them in force, and in aid of their execution authorizations were given empowering customs officers to search homes and warehouses where smuggled goods might be concealed, and these authorizations were the celebrated Writs. The case was one of the most remarkable in legal annals, signalized by the wonderful speech of James Otis, in which, by declaring that there should be no taxation without representation, he gave the slogan to the American Revolution. We are to deal now with the conduct of the Judge. In his private views Hutchinson was a free trader, and felt deeply the inexpediency of the revival of the ancient laws and the measures for their enforcement, but what had his private views to do with the case? He was there as a judge, sworn by his oath to maintain the law established by the constituted authority. The speech of James Otis, as John Adams declared, was a flame of fire. He denounced the Writs of Assistance as a violation of a right secured to English subjects by the common law that a man's house was his castle, sacred from intrusion or espionage. Going off upon a side issue, or at least into considerations not directly pertinent to the case in hand, he denied in general the right of the government to tax a people not represented as a violation of a clause in Magna Charta. The Bar and the audience were swept from their feet by the ardor of his appeal. Not so the Bench. Hutchinson sat cool and passionless. His private feelings did not influence him. His vision was not confused by the eloquence of the advocate. He kept his associates firm. He tactfully postponed a decision until the heat of the conflict had abated.

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In a calmer time he rendered his verdict, a verdict thoroughly just. We will not occupy ourselves with the ins and outs of a perplexing case. It is enough to say that Mr. Horace Gray, Justice of the United States Supreme Court, in our own time, having carefully studied the case, deprecates the condemnation of Hutchinson, and Governor Emory Washburn, in his Judicial History of Massachusetts, utters an encomium upon the work of the Chief Justice. Although not bred to the law, he declares that Hutchinson's legal accomplishments were excellent, that his judicial temper was marked, and that he especially excelled in his capacity for clear presentment. Here we have Hutchinson as a judge, and it may be claimed that his work in general, though less conspicuous, was of a piece with this.

As an executive we shall see Hutchinson to good advantage at the time of the Boston Massacre. No event of American history is better known than this. We have only to do here with the conduct of the chief magistrate. At the first alarm Hutchinson, having been Governor but a few months, was in the street, proclaiming his character and office, counselling moderation. Though clubs were raised in the riot to dash out his brains, he made his way to the east balcony of the Old State House, where he faced on that March night in 1770 a terrible scene. Before him, in King Street, were six hundred disciplined soldiers, armed and at attention, with the front rank kneeling in the crimsoned snow ready for street firing. In the streets to the right and left and behind him was the whole town of Boston, to a large extent armed and aflame with wrath. The torch was at hand to light the beacon on the Hill to summon the surrounding towns, and the couriers were in the saddle to bring in the more distant country. What averted a disastrous conflict was the work of Hutchinson. He declared that, as Governor, he was there to maintain law and order — "I will live and die by the law." Awed by his authority the troops retired to their barracks, the townsmen to their homes. The guilty soldiers were arrested by the constables, and a trial soon followed, which did credit to Anglo-Saxon men. Hutchinson put backbone into the judges; the jury was duly empanelled and sworn; the evidence collected and sifted. The conduct of the town, too, was in the main very fine; it waited in patience. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, conspicuous Liberty Men, stood forth as counsel for the accused, and left no stone unturned to see

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that full justice was done their clients. Said John Adams in his old age, "It was perhaps the most creditable thing I ever did." It is hard to imagine a better illustration of the conduct proper for the executive magistrate in a time of tumult than this. The Governor showed no sign of vacillation, but was throughout cool, passionless, and inflexible. I say nothing here of the events of the following day, when, with Sam Adams in the foreground, the Boston town meeting drove the British regiments to the Castle. That, too, was a story of heroism, but it is not in place to tell it here. We have simply to do with the conduct of Hutchinson on the night of the Massacre, and it may be claimed that his work in general, as an executive, was of a piece with this.

In his private relations, as a husband and father, Hutchinson was blameless. As a man among men he was courteous, tolerant, sympathetic, a good mixer. He found time in the midst of his employments to write a History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, perhaps the most substantial contribution to good literature of our colonial era. His limitations as an historian were great. He had no power of picturesque description, no deep philosophy, no acute discrimination in painting character. Hawthorne, and the late Charles Francis Adams, found his style dull almost to the point of being intolerable. John Fiske, however, found the work in a high degree admirable, and Charles Deane praised his judicial temper, his faculty for selecting and using in the best way excellent sources, and his good method. While not entirely without acrimony, when he treats of events in which he, himself, was a protagonist, he is surprisingly good tempered and fair. The work won for him pleasant recognition from Robertson and Gibbon, and at the present moment is held in the highest esteem. He was by no means without faults. He was an over-formal man. He loved vestments and ceremonies to the point of being pompous. In these gowns and processions we concede somewhat to the foible of the old Governor. His deference to men superior in rank went to the length of obsequiousness. He has been accused of conceit. He certainly had great self-confidence, but that is a necessary quality to all men who accomplish much. He has been accused of avarice, but the charge cannot be sustained. He has been accused of place hunting, but the place sought him, not he the place. Certainly he had no hope of emolument, for the pay

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was at best a mere pittance, and often withheld. He had no hope of fame, for his activity brought upon his head execration more often than blessing. He was in public place because he desired to render service. His career was remarkably free from trickery and subterfuge. The charge that he was ever false cannot be maintained. I am disposed to think that his gravest defect was a lack of humor. In all that he did, and in all that he wrote there is no trace of humor. Great characters of history, Luther, Cromwell, Abraham Lincoln, have found in their humor an invaluable asset, an oil of gladness to comfort them in distress, an emollient smoothing the way in the tactful adjustment of difficult problems. Of this, in the make-up of Hutchinson, we find nothing.

But Hutchinson made a grave mistake, to the consideration of which I must now proceed. He set himself openly, resolutely against the striving of his country for independence. It must be declared that Hutchinson, in his views, was not an American. As Americans, we believe that in any Anglo-Saxon community, or in any community which admits Anglo-Saxon organization and leadership, government should be of, by, and for the people. Abraham Lincoln's plain people we feel we can trust. Some men are fools all the time, all men are fools sometimes, but all men are not fools all the time. There we have a margin on which a proper polity may be reared. Emerson, in his essay on politics, says that an autocracy may be a trim ship, which for a time sails well, but may strike a rock, and then goes to the bottom; whereas a democracy is a raft; you are always anxious about the fastenings, you are in constant agitation on a turbulent sea, your feet are always wet, but the raft will not sink, and in time you will arrive. To this it may be added that in keeping the fastenings secure, and mitigating the discomforts of the situation, the human being undergoes a discipline and education which he could obtain in no other way, and which calls out the most manful qualities. These were not the ideas of Thomas Hutchinson. He was a man of the eighteenth century. The ancient triple-pillared polity of England, King, Lords, and Commons, was good enough for him. So felt his contemporaries Chatham and Burke; so felt, a century before, John Hampden and Pym. In Hutchinson's eyes Lincoln's plain people were quite too near the proletariat. He looked askance upon the town meeting, and believed that it should be restricted to

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the management of purely local concerns. Matthew Arnold's doctrine of the "remnant," that in any human organization the select few, the remnant, must somehow come into leadership for a happy consummation, would have been accepted by him. These are not American ideas. His mistake was that he failed to see that a time had come for the severance of the tie between the Colonies and the mother country. How grave was this mistake? Hutchinson in his day had good company, plenty of it. In the early pre-Revolutionary struggle no one thought of independence. James Otis and Joseph Warren died without a desire for it, and Franklin, on the threshold of the Declaration, made his homely comparison of the British Empire to a fine China bowl, which it would be a pity to ruin by breaking out a piece. It was not until a late moment that the champions of independence, with Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine in the foreground, rude, relentless, unthinking of consequences, brought the country to their side. At the present day in England wise men, well disposed to us, lament that the split occurred. Goldwin Smith mourned over the Anglo-Saxon schism, and sought means to bridge it over. Lecky, the authoritative historian of England in the eighteenth century, declares that the contention of the men who strove to sustain the political solidarity of the English speaking world was to the full as honorable as that of those who fought to revitalize the obsolescent clauses of Magna Charta. Tennyson sang, in 1886, —

> Shall we not, through good and ill,
> Cleave to one another still?
> Britain fought her sons of yore;
> Britain failed, and never more,
> Careless of our growing kin,
> Shall we sin our fathers' sin. —
> Men who in a narrower day
> (Unprophetic rulers they)
> Drove from out the mother's nest
> That young eagle of the West,
> To forage for herself alone.
> Britons, hold your own!

This is not the American view. We glory in our independence. We believe, it may be truthfully said, that the achieving of our inde-

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pendence was a blessing to the world. Probably it was the salvation of England. Henry Thomas Buckle declared that the harsh experience through which England passed in losing the thirteen colonies saved her own freedom. Only through that rude shock could the land be awakened to the danger in which she lay. As for America, it is enough to say here that through independence she was saved from provincialism. And what precisely is provincialism? The deadening atmosphere of a dependent state, in which initiative becomes atrophied, self-reliance undergoes paralysis, the horizon narrows, and aggressiveness has no chance, a quality which, however rude may be its incidents, is yet one of the most virile and useful qualities of a man or a nation. Hutchinson made his mistake, and it was a grave one. It will be interesting to consider for a moment the idea which he entertained of a proper polity for the British Empire. In his private letters and his public documents he expressed often this idea, that the authority of the supreme legislature should be recognized, but having been recognized it should retire into the background, not to be asserted except where the general interests and safety of the Empire were in question, the dependency meanwhile being left to take care of itself. As to taxation, and all functions of its government, in short, his idea is that which was presently adopted by England in the nineteenth century, the result of which has been the coming into existence of the vast empire of Britain, one of the most magnificent, one of the most beneficent of human achievements. It cannot be said that Hutchinson was the first to enunciate this scheme. It was in the air of his time, but he was among the first to give it clear statement, and I know not what better title than this a man could have to fame as a statesman.

It may well be asked why Hutchinson, affluent as he was, quiet and scholarly in his tastes, beset in his public career by abuse and misunderstanding, both in England and America, should have preferred to keep his public place. I can explain it in no other way than this: he hoped against hope that he might be able to mitigate the harshness of the methods at Westminster, as, on the other hand, he hoped against hope that he might be able to moderate the resentment of the colonists, and induce in them a temper of patience until better counsels should prevail abroad. On both sides he failed sadly, and between the upper and nether millstones, he was crushed.

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Before sailing for England he rendered his last important service. He had been active in the boundary settlements of Massachusetts from the first. He had a main hand in settling the boundary on the side of New Hampshire, then on the side of Rhode Island, and then Connecticut. A more difficult matter was the settling of the boundary to the west. New York, disposed to be grasping, had demanded that her eastern line should be the Connecticut River, or at least the crest of the Hoosac Range. Early in 1774, after many years of dispute, the western boundary, mainly through Hutchinson's exertions, was fixed twelve miles east of the Hudson River, and Berkshire County was saved to Massachusetts.

The old Governor, on his arrival in England, was received with all respect by King, Court, and Country. He was offered a baronetcy, but declined the honor because he was without means to sustain the dignity. His faithfulness and ability were recognized, and scholars did him honor. Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law. But he was ill at ease in his exile. Stripped as he had been of his property, he was dependent upon a pension from the Crown. His end drew near under melancholy circumstances. In 1780 it was becoming plain that the thirteen colonies were lost, in his view a calamity both to England and America. In his home some of his children were sinking into their graves through tuberculosis induced by an unfavorable climate. Others sat at his table, men of broken fortunes. At the moment of his death London was at the mercy of the Gordon Riots, and his coffin was borne to the tomb amid the ashes of conflagrations which threatened destruction to the social fabric. Every institution, almost every private friend whom he held dear, seemed to be involved in awful catastrophe, an end sad, indeed. At the present hour England and America are standing together in the stress of terrible war, which menaces the freedom dear to both, as they have not done since their separation. The Black Watch carries through the streets of Boston the Union Jack amid a tumult of applause, the divisions of Pershing under the Stars and Stripes march through the streets of London amid jubilation and tears of joy. The son does not go back to the household, the United States will never be a part of the British Empire, but the child stands by the mother.

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Since love unites wide space divides in vain,
And hands now clasp across the flowing main.

Tennyson's "young eagle of the West," foraging for himself alone, feels in his heart, too often wild and rude, a gentler pulse, and turns toward the old nest with the softer instinct of the homing pigeon.

It is an auspicious moment in which to bring once more to memory this good son of Boston, who, while loyal to Old England, yet said with almost his last breath, "when I am dead *New* England will be found wrote upon my heart."

On the conclusion of Dr. Hosmer's address, Dr. PARK said:

The Committee on Arrangements [1] for this occasion had hoped to secure the personal attendance to-day of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador. Pressure of public business has, however, disappointed our hopes; and the Ambassador is unable to be with us.

Instead, he sends this letter, which is of such significance that to omit reading it in full would be a distinct loss to the dignity and meaning of this occasion. I will ask the Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, to whom it is addressed, to read Sir Cecil's letter.

LETTER OF SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE

British Embassy,
WASHINGTON.
October 26th, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. EDES,

On the receipt of your very kind letter of September 10th I wrote to Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, informing him of the impending dedication of the Memorial Doorway in the First Church in Boston to commemorate Thomas Hutchinson, the last but one of the Royal Governors of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and I enquired of him whether the University of Oxford, which conferred her highest honours upon Governor Hutchinson after his return to England, would be disposed to send a message of greeting to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on this memorable occasion.

[1] The committee consisted of Messrs. Henry Herbert Edes, Charles Edwards Park, and Fred Norris Robinson.

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The matter was referred by the President of Magdalen to the Hebdomadal Council of the University; and I have now received by telegraph the following message from the University, which I have pleasure in transmitting to you:

The Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, have heard with interest and pleasure that the Colonial Society of Massachusetts proposes shortly to dedicate, in the First Church in Boston, a Memorial to Thomas Hutchinson, the last (Civil) Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, a distinguished Graduate of Harvard and a D.C.L. *Honoris Causa* of Oxford, and that the Society has invited His Excellency, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, himself an Oxford man, to attend the ceremony, not only as Ambassador of the Mother Country to her Eldest Daughter, but also as an Alumnus, and as a representative of the University of Oxford.

The Council will be greatly obliged if His Excellency will express, in such manner as he thinks best on the occasion, their sense of the compliment paid to their University by this special invitation, and their gratitude for the opportunity thus afforded to Oxford of being represented, and being present in spirit at a moment when the Mother and Daughter Countries are drawn together so closely in the common and sacred cause of liberty for the world, and when in particular, the University of Harvard, with which Oxford has so many ties, is taking the lead in ranging herself along with the British Universities on behalf of this cause, and her students are even now preparing to stand shoulder to shoulder with theirs as brothers, not only in Arts but in Arms.

HERBERT E. D. BLAKISTON,
Vice-Chancellor.

The original text of this message is being sent to me, together with a letter from Sir Herbert Warren; but in case it should not arrive in time, I write to inform you of its contents as received by telegraph.

I have been hoping that I might be able to avail myself of the invitation of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and attend the ceremony on November 5th, but I now find to my great disappointment that I cannot do so, as I am obliged to be in Canada on that date. Would you kindly convey to the Society, together with the above message from the University of Oxford, an expression of my keen regret? I am particularly appreciative of their courtesy in inviting me not only as British Ambassador to the United States, but also as an honorary alumnus of Harvard, and as representing the University of Oxford.

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My regret at not being able to accept your most kind invitation is much increased by my sense of the historic interest attaching to this celebration at the present moment. The name of Hutchinson represents so much in our common history, and a peculiarly pathetic interest attaches to the character and career of Thomas Hutchinson who, it is plain, represented in his own person and in a characteristic way, the feelings and fate of so many of our race at that critical period. I am sure that your Society, occupied as it is with the wider view of things, will do full justice to all aspects of the great question, of which Thomas Hutchinson's career represented one side. It is, of course, not my province to interpose, at such a moment as the present, my personal views, especially to men of the high distinction and wide knowledge of the members of your Society. I should have gone to the celebration, not to express opinions, but to learn; and I venture to request that you will be good enough to provide me, for the use of my Government, with as full a report as may be convenient of the proceedings and speeches.

Yours very truly,
(for the Ambassador)
COLVILLE BARCLAY.[1]

Dr. PARK then said:

In the course of his varied career, Thomas Hutchinson was Chief Justice of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. It is therefore eminently appropriate that this dedication, designed as it is to do honor to his memory, should be graced by the presence of his present successor in that high office. It is necessary only because it is one of the proprieties of the moment, to present to you one who, as head of the judiciary of Massachusetts, has already secured himself in the affectionate respect of all right-minded persons, — ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth.

[1] In a second letter, dated November 23rd, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice wrote:

I have now received from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford the original text of the message from the Hebdomadal Council of the University to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on the occasion of the Dedication of the Memorial to Thomas Hutchinson at the First Church, Boston, on the 5th instant — the text of which, as received by telegraph, was communicated to you on October 26th. I daresay the Colonial Society will be glad to preserve this document in their archives, and so I send it to you herewith.

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ADDRESS OF CHIEF JUSTICE RUGG

The Judiciary, and, I feel sure, the Bar of the Commonwealth, are deeply appreciative of the distinction here conferred upon the former Chief Justice, Thomas Hutchinson.

The Court over which he presided for eight years is the same tribunal as that recognized by the constitution of 1780, under the name then new, but now become familiar as the Supreme Judicial Court. His judicial memory has been obscured by violent antipathy against his political views. He espoused the unpopular side in the discussions preceding the Revolution. When the final choice had to be made, he adhered to the cause of the Mother Country and left his native soil. The smoke of the Revolution has darkened the reputation of all on this side of the Atlantic who did not join in kindling its fires. Hutchinson has been no exception.

It has been difficult to make a just estimate of the value of his judicial service. This arises from two causes: first, the habit of writing judicial opinions had not become common in his day, and second, the few opinions which were written were not printed, and have not been preserved among the printed records of the Court. Governor Emory Washburn, himself an eminent advocate, an earnest patriot, and a learned professor of the law, writing in 1840 and much nearer than we to the troublous times of the War of Independence, probably did not overestimate his merits. His discriminating judgment of Hutchinson as Chief Justice has been so admirably summarized by Mr. Hosmer that I will not take the time to read the amplified views that Washburn expressed.[1]

[1] "It is by no means an easy task to do justice to the character of one towards whom a feeling of such bitter hostility prevailed, as towards Governor Hutchinson. Whoever should be able to separate his character as a judge from that as a politician, would do much to rescue his name from the odium in which it has come down to us, and help to do justice to the memory of a man who unhappily for his own fame, was permitted to reach the summit of his loftiest ambition. Few who sat upon the bench in the last century, were more deserving commendation than Judge Hutchinson. His character, in this capacity, was irreproachable. His learning, even in the science of the law, was highly respectable, and, when we consider his early education, was indeed remarkable. He possessed great clearness of thought, and excelled in that most difficult property of a good judge, a clear and intelligible statement of the case upon which he was to pass. It is a traditionary anecdote, that after listening to the charges given by

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The most significant occasion in the judicial life of Chief Justice Hutchinson was the hearing upon the petition for Writs of Assistance. His decision in favor of their validity was the beginning of his decline in popularity. Yet the correctness of that decision has been supported in a learned article by Chief Justice Gray.[1] The essential and underlying principle at issue in that cause was whether a legislative act which invaded fundamental rights of the individual should be enforced by the courts. Hutchinson held that they ought to be thus enforced, no matter how much they might outrage the right and freedom of the individual. The argument of Otis against granting the Writs was based upon the proposition that there are rights of the individual so sacred that they cannot be touched by legislation, and are inviolate even against an act of Parliament, and that when legislation impinges upon such rights, it is the duty of the courts to refuse to enforce such an act of the legislature. That decision, and the discussions to which it gave rise, were important factors in the establishment of the constitutional principle in Massachusetts, in all the States of the Union, and in the United States, that there are certain fundamental rights of the individual which are placed beyond the reach of legislative attack by being imbedded in the constitution, and are to be protected by the Courts against every assault upon them from whatever source.

These dedicatory exercises are happily timed. It is deeply significant that this memorial, to the last representative but one of the King of Great Britain in Massachusetts just before the conflict that separated the colonies and established this nation, should be erected when these two great governments are united as allies. Both nations are dedicated in a large sense to the cause of Republican institutions. The freedom of the world now is imperilled; civilization has been outraged; despotic greed for dominion of the world has put free governments to their defence. We are again engaged in a great war, testing whether nations consecrated to freedom can survive, and whether "government of the people, by the people and for the people" shall perish from the earth. In that gigantic struggle the

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his associates, juries were in the habit of remarking, when Hutchinson rose to address them, that 'now we shall have something which we can understand.'" (Judicial History of Massachusetts, p. 306.)

[1] Quincy's Reports, Appendix I, pp. 395 ff.

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differences of revolutionary days have no place. Great Britain and the United States, with our other gallant allies, are together fighting that freedom may live, and that deliberate and calculating barbarism shall not triumph. It is fitting that we pause a moment in the midst of warlike preparations to brush the dust of years from this historic, judicial, and executive figure, and call public attention to the purity of his motive, to his sense of justice between man and man, and his devotion to the public weal as he saw it.

This is patriotic service. It is rehabilitating the memory of a historian, a statesman, and a jurist of the long ago. It is symbolic of the alliance of mighty states in a titanic battle for the preservation of the most precious achievement in the progress of mankind.

Mr. PARK then said:

Thomas Hutchinson, historian of the Colony and Province of the Massachusetts Bay, is a "member in good and honorable standing of the great brotherhood" of the students and writers of history. No review of his life can be complete that does not take account of that side of his many-sided interests. It is eminently fitting that we should listen to one who is qualified to judge of his work in this respect; and although, like most of us here present, this next speaker is descended from a family[1] which at the time held Thomas Hutchinson in open hostility, he is himself too good an historian, too fair and impartial a scholar, to assess the outstanding personalities of the past at anything less than their true and abiding value.

I present to you Dr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, who will speak to us on Thomas Hutchinson as an historian.

After the delivery of Dr. MORISON'S address, President ROBINSON made the following —

PRESENTATION BY THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

After all that has been said with regard to Thomas Hutchinson, it is not necessary for me to enter upon any long recital of the reasons

[1] Otis.

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that have led the Colonial Society to set up a monument to his memory. Democracies are often said to be ungrateful. Yet Massachusetts has not usually been neglectful of its own history, or forgotten its faithful servants, and Hutchinson would doubtless have long since been fitly commemorated if he had not ended his career by opposing American Independence. Because of his final choice to go with the Crown rather than the Province, his long life of service came to be disregarded, and he was remembered only to be condemned. But with the lapse of time, as has been shown this afternoon, a fairer judgment of him has been formed, and formed, too, by historians who have been themselves in complete sympathy with the cause of Independence. Men who disapprove, or even deplore, Hutchinson's political course, are now able to see in his character something heroic. It is due to him, and due also to ourselves, in our concern for the truth of History, that this corrected judgment should be publicly recorded. It is suitable, too, that the record should be made by an historical society, and by one which, in its very name and membership, emphasizes the continuity of the history of Massachusetts as Colony, Province, and Commonwealth.

The monument which we are here to dedicate was designed by an architect [1] who is a member of the Society. The inscriptions were

[1] Mr. Richard Clipston Sturgis.

The stately doorway leads from the south transept of the church to the vestry. It is of walnut, elaborately carved by hand. The general character of the work is late Gothic, in keeping with the architecture of the church. The symbolism is distinctly American, conspicuously seen in the use of Indian corn and the large leaves of the tobacco plant, which admirably lend themselves to such decoration. The grape-vine and its fruit, with the corn, symbolize the ecclesiastical feature of the memorial. At the keystone of the arch are the Hutchinson arms. In the spandrel at the left is the Royal British shield of George III; opposite, on the right, in another spandrel, is the shield of the United States. On the flanking buttresses are the insignia of the colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay, the shield of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Pine Tree flag of the Revolution, and the seals of the Superior Court of Judicature of which Hutchinson was Chief Justice, and of the Probate Court for the County of Suffolk, of which he was the Judge. The arms and shields are painted in their appropriate heraldic tinctures, the flag in its appropriate colors, and the seals in black and silver. The inscriptions are in gold upon scrolls on panels on the splays of the arch. Gold and colors have been used with fine effect in picking out and tinting the delicately wrought ornament. At the base, on the right, carved in relief in the natural wood, is the seal of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

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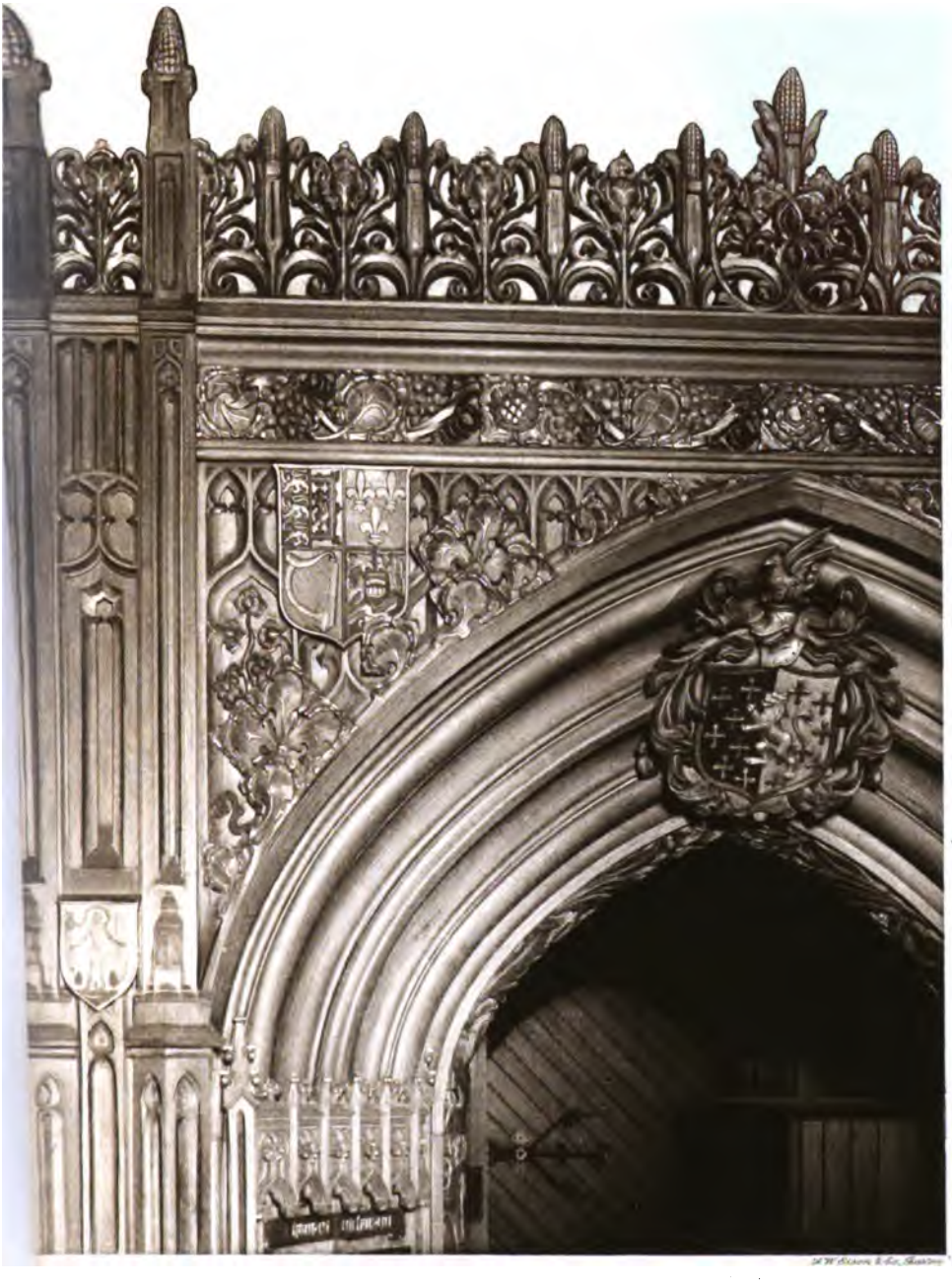

Thomas Hutchinson Memorial Doorway (detail)
First Church in Boston

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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written also by a member,[1] and sixty-nine others contributed the funds to make possible the construction. It is interesting to know that nearly all of this number, like the orator of the day, are descendants of men who were Hutchinson's opponents at the end of his career.

The memorial has been appropriately placed in this First Church in Boston where Hutchinson himself was a worshiper, and to which four earlier generations of his family belonged.

In the name, then, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and on its behalf, I ask the Standing Committee of the Parish to accept the gift of the Hutchinson Memorial Doorway.

Thereupon Dr. ELBRIDGE GERRY CUTLER made the following —

ACCEPTANCE BY THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON

The Standing Committee, on behalf of the First Church in Boston, gladly accepts the custody of this beautiful Doorway erected in memory of a former parishioner of this Church, and guarantees to maintain, to the best of its ability, its perpetual preservation and care.

The exercises were brought to a close by the singing of an ode and by a benediction pronounced by Dr. Park. There follow the inscriptions on the doorway, and a list of subscribers to the memorial.[2]

---

[1] Mr. George Lyman Kittredge.

[2] Miss Mary Rivers, who occupies the Hutchinson estate at Milton, sent a wreath of leaves and greenery which grew in the Governor's garden. It was placed on the Anne Hutchinson tablet, which is next to the doorway commemorating the Governor.

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THOMAS HUTCHINSON

Statesman *Jurist* *Historian*

Born in Boston 9 September 1711
Graduated at Harvard College 1727
Envoy to England
Speaker of the House
Executive Councillor
Delegate to the Albany Congress
Lieutenant Governor
Chief Justice
Royal Governor of the Massachusetts Bay
1771–1774
Doctor of the Civil Law Oxford
Died in London 3 June 1780

This MEMORIAL is erected by
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
in grateful recognition
of
a long and distinguished career
of public service
always guided
by
a conscientious desire
to be loyal
both
to the Province and to the Crown

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List of Subscribers
to the
Memorial to Governor Hutchinson

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Thomas Willing Balch
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Melville Madison Bigelow
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Worthington Chauncey Ford
Robert Hallowell Gardiner
Frederick Lewis Gay
George Lincoln Goodale
Robert Grant
Charles Montraville Green
Chester Noyes Greenough
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Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe
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